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ABSTRACT

This document provides a transcript of a hearing of the House Subcommittee on Census and Population which focused on immigration statistics and ways of improving the methods of accounting for all immigrants. Prepared statements were presented by four witnesses: (1) Daniel B. Levine, the director of the Panel on Immigrations Statistics, who discussed the type of data needed for developing immigration policies; (2) John E. Nahan, the director of the Office of Plans and Analysis, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), commenting on the INS's efforts to reform its statistics collection; (3) Jeffrey S. Passel, of the Demographic Research Population Division, Bureau of the Census, who described the role of the Census Bureau in immigration statistics and presented some of its findings on the numbers and characteristics of undocumented aliens; and (4) Alejandro Portes, a sociologist, who presented a report on the adaptation process of 1980 Cuban and Haitian refugees in South Florida. In general, it was observed that current statistical reporting practices do not provide sufficient information to analyze the impact of immigration or to make policy decisions. (KH)

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IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

ED269504

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CENSUS AND POPULATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

OCTOBER 10, 1985

Serial No. 99-32

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IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1985

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CENSUS AND POPULATION,
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:20 a.m., in room 304, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Robert Garcia, presiding.

Mr. GARCIA. Let me first apologize, as you probably know, the news from Puerto Rico has not been good over the last couple of days—the mudslides in Puerto Rico have caused the death of more than 200 to 300 people. So I am trying to get a sense of the Congress resolution passed sometime today on Puerto Rico.

I would like to thank all of you for joining us today at our hearing on immigration statistics. This is, as far as I am concerned, a made-to-order issue for this subcommittee. We have held a number of hearings on the demographic impact of immigration on the United States, and since the subcommittee's jurisdiction also covers the Census Bureau, statistics are also of great interest to us.

This summer the National Research Council issued a study entitled "Immigration Statistics: A Story of Neglect." While the subtitle of the study—"A Story of Neglect"—casts a somewhat negative light on efforts to keep immigration statistics, it is my hope that today's hearing will offer us some positive alternatives as to how we can improve this process.

We have four distinguished witnesses testifying today all of whom have a detailed understanding of the study. We have asked them not to speak solely to the varying accounts of the number of undocumented persons in this Nation; we have also asked them to speak about how we can improve our methods of accounting for all immigrants. Hopefully, today's hearings will provide us with insight on how we can get a better handle on this dilemma.

With that, I would yield to my colleague from Indiana, Mr. Myers.

Mr. MYERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have no opening statement. I would just welcome our witnesses here. It's a very, very sensitive issue in our country, very important. And it's one that not only is an emotional issue, it's a very real economic issue that we have a problem here, so we welcome your testimony here today.

Mr. GARCIA. Thank you, Mr. Myers.

The witnesses for today's hearing are Mr. Daniel Levine, who is the senior research associate, Committee on National Statistics, National Research Council. It's good to see you again, Dan.

Mr. LEVINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GARCIA. 1980 all over again.

Mr. LEVINE. A long time ago.

Mr. GARCIA. Mr. John E. Nahan, Director, Office of Plans and Analysis, Immigration and Naturalization Service. We welcome you.

Dr. Jeffrey S. Passel, Demographic Research Population Division, Bureau of the Census. Welcome back to you.

Mr. PASSEL. Thank you.

Mr. GARCIA. The fourth panelist, Prof. Alejandro Portes, Department of Sociology, Johns Hopkins University. Counsel tells me that he is on the way.

Why don't we start off with you, Dan.

STATEMENT OF DANIEL B. LEVINE, STUDY DIRECTOR, PANEL ON IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Mr. LEVINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I appreciate the invitation to appear before your subcommittee. I plan to summarize my written testimony.

In essence, Mr. Chairman, the Panel on Immigration Statistics concluded that the present systems are inadequate for providing answers that can and should be available to help manage and understand our immigration system and, still more important, to create a basis for national immigration policies.

Among the many questions consider only one: Do immigrants, legal and illegal, take jobs away from those already here, especially minorities and youth?

The answer is: We just don't know. The underlying reason is not that analysis is inadequate, but rather, the data needed for a convincing analysis just don't exist.

It is not just a question of timeliness and quality, both of those are serious issues in themselves, but also one of conceptual failure to understand what data are for and how they can be used.

The INS and other Government agencies produce masses of data, if not always timely and not always accurate, about immigrants, refugees, the foreign born, visitors, but the data are not what are needed to answer the fundamental policy issues of the day.

Further, in contrast to many of the other important data series generated by the Government, immigration statistics appear to be the stepchild of the Federal statistical system.

A history of neglect has affected recordkeeping concerning one of the most fundamental processes underlying the development of American society—namely, the arrival and integration of new populations into our contemporary American social and economic structures.

The concern over these statistics and the inadequate and often incomplete and unreliable information for use in planning, implementing, or evaluating immigration policy is neither just of recent origin nor a product solely of our study.

The examples are many and you can go back well over 15 years, but I will refer to only two of very recent vintage and which come from your own distinguished body. In 1978, the Select Committee on Population of the House of Representatives, in attempting to explore the role of immigration in population growth, concluded: "im-

migration issues are clouded by faulty data and inflamed passions—not a good combination for rational policymaking."

More recently, during last year's debate on Simpson-Mazzoli, the House-Judiciary Committee noted:

> That the committee is deeply concerned about the unavailability of accurate and current statistical information on immigration matters. The committee notes that INS has not devoted sufficient resources and attention to this problem and, to a great extent, has ignored the statistical needs of Congress, as well as the research needs of demographers and other outside users.

These aren't the panel's words, Mr. Chairman, but I believe they speak very eloquently to the problem.

Responding to the growing chorus of concerns, in late 1982, INS asked the National Research Council's Committee on National Statistics to look into the problem and a panel on immigration statistics was established. Dr. Burton Singer, then of Columbia and now of Yale University, served as chair. I have attached a list of seven panel members to my testimony.

Our objectives were three:

To determine the data needs for immigration policy, for administration of the law, and for other purposes related to immigration.

Second, to review existing data sources related to immigration, emigration, and the foreign stock and to assess their statistical adequacy.

Finally, to identify major shortcomings and recommend appropriate remedies and actions.

I do want to note for the record, Mr. Chairman, that the panel received outstanding and wholehearted cooperation throughout its entire study and exceptional assistance from everyone involved, and especially so from the INS.

The one fact that struck the panel repeatedly was that a statistical system to produce immigration data does exist, but it does so in an atmosphere of almost total neglect. We found an extraordinary lack of concern with the situation on the part of many who are key to the operation of the statistical system, and almost total ignorance of its existence on the part of the top management that most needs its product. And, finally, that this neglect extends throughout almost all levels of responsibility and almost all of the agencies that are most directly involved in producing these types of data.

I think it's fair to say, also, that the Congress, with its ultimate power of the purse, must share in the blame for having condoned this situation for far too long.

The panel was surprised to find that the Immigration and Nationality Act, the legislative centerpiece in the field, mandates very little statistical compilation in comparison to the Refugee Act of 1980, for example, which establishes very specific data needs. And as a result, there are more data available in one sense or more extensive data available for refugees than perhaps there are for immigrants.

Nonetheless, program needs, more than policy needs, have resulted in the establishment of administrative recordkeeping systems that are the source of a variety of information on those entering or applying to enter the United States, and most of the data are available from recordkeeping sources.

The INS, of course, is predominant in the collection, as well as in the dissemination of data. Unfortunately, the panel also found its resources and capabilities to be inadequate for the job of producing relevant, accurate, and timely statistics.

Even recognizing that the statistical activities of the service are directly related to and controlled by their fundamental mission—monitoring entry into and exit from the United States and changes in legal status—the panel noted numerous examples of the agency's inability to meet its own needs, much less those of the outside world.

Again, I will cite two examples. The first concerns the G–23 report. This report summarizes the office workload activities on a monthly basis in many, many areas and contains over 25,000 potential data entries on more than 40 pages. When statistics are discussed at INS, the point of reference is inevitably the G–23 report. Why then was the panel told repeatedly by staff of INS, at all levels, that data reported on G–23 are assumed to be inaccurate, invalid, and irrelevant to program evaluation and operational analysis?

The second examples from the INS Statistical Yearbook, the latest for 1983—and I do want to congratulate the INS on having put out very recently both the 1982 and the 1983 yearbooks. The 1983 book states: "Data processing problems resulted in incomplete information on immigrants admitted to the United States in fiscal years 1980 through 1983." Similar types of problems also were responsible for the loss of all nonimmigrant information for fiscal 1980 and incomplete nonimmigrant information for 1982.

In fairness to the INS, we did note that a major effort is now underway in the agency to install automated systems that are intended to overcome many of the problems that have plagued it in the past, and the effort indeed appears to be having success.

Planning for these systems was preceded by an extensive study of the information requirements of the agency; unfortunately, however, it's ironic to note that the needs for policy information of the executive branch, or the Congress, or those outside the agency, while acknowledged, were considered to be outside the purview of the exercise and were omitted from the examination.

It would be naive, however, to assume that automation alone will fully solve the problems that have been evident for too long in the statistical operations of INS. Data also vary widely in quality, refinement, consistency, accessibility, and timeliness. The agency's problems are fundamental and pervasive but center on the basic issue of quality.

The Statistical Analysis Branch, the key organizational entity as far as statistics are concerned, does not even appear on an organizational chart, and the branch's influence has been notable for its absence.

Three factors characterize the low status of the programs in INS that deal with statistics: First, a lack of understanding and commitment throughout the agency to the need for high quality data; second, the lack of emphasis on statistics in the bureaucratic structure; and third, the absence of standards for performance in the collection, processing, or publication.

These factors, when taken together, are significant warning signals and clearly demonstrate that immediate and direct action is necessary. What is required on the part of INS and others is a fundamental change in the outlook of the institution toward statistics, a change that will recognize explicitly and unequivocally the role of statistics and statistical analysis in the mission of the INS and will ensure that the role is nurtured and supported.

Not surprisingly, there are many other agencies besides INS which collect and produce data on aliens, either as a result of dealing directly with aliens or as a byproduct.

The overriding impression that emerged from a review by the panel of some 11 separate organizations within 8 different agencies was of a major need for coordination and direction. Each agency follows its own institutional priorities in the areas of what to collect, if anything, how to define it, whether to publish it, how much to spend on it, how far to distribute it, and with little regard for the broader issues involved.

Someone must bring together all of the agencies concerned with immigration data, both those who produce and those who use, in order to ensure the best use of what we all recognize are scarce resources, whether we talk of money, staff, time, or public tolerance.

Progress must be monitored, as must adherence to standards, common definitions, timeliness in publication, and full disclosure of procedures and problems. Only through such coordination will significant improvement occur in the data base.

Logic dictates, incidentally, that this coordinating role be played by the Office of Management and Budget, which, by statute and through its review of budget proposals, is ultimately responsible for establishing current statistical agenda and for monitoring progress. It is regrettable that OMB has not adequately exercised its authority in recent years, but action now would not be too late to improve the data base for future policy deliberations.

In one area, emigration, data are totally lacking and the topic is generally ignored in a discussion of immigration statistics. Yet, estimates made during the past few decades indicate that more than 100,000 persons move out of the United States each year. A strategy should be devised for making accurate and timely estimates of emigration.

Finally, as part of its task, the panel explored the possibilities of developing estimates of the illegal population in the United States. We reviewed all of the existing methodologies and as many studies as we could find, as well as meeting with interested researchers to explore any potential new approaches. The panel concluded, however, albeit reluctantly, that it could not identify or contribute to any breakthroughs in methodology that would substantially narrow the current uncertainty in the estimates. Nonetheless, the review undertaken by the panel of the methods used to estimate the size of the illegal population did lead us to the view that, although all the studies suffer from uncertainties, the number of illegals currently in the United States is between 2 million and 4 million and, further, that the number had not been growing remarkably fast in recent years.

The concluding objective of the panel's charge was to identify major shortcomings and recommend appropriate remedies and ac-

tions. The panel's comments are directed to the many different organizations involved in the area of immigration statistics. The panel, however, strongly emphasized the need for all of these groups to act in concert. The activities that we recommend represent a range of different actions that will be fully successful only if implemented as a whole.

Most of our recommendations are general, concerned with process rather than the particular, and intentionally so. It is the panel's very firm belief that superficial patching will not solve the problem. Without major changes in direction from the top policymaking levels and focused interest within the Congress, the Department of Justice, INS, and OMB, the immigration statistics system will not produce reliable and timely statistics to permit rational decisionmaking in this area.

We have attached to our testimony a listing of the major recommendations that, in the panel's view, are of overriding importance, both because they require action and commitment at a high policy level and because we believe each is fundamental to the accomplishment of the key goal: The ready availability of accurate, timely, and useful statistical information on international migration. We believe that failure to implement these recommendations will leave this statistical area in the doldrums that it now finds itself in.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be happy to try to answer any questions.

[The statement of Mr. Levine follows:]

Committee on National Statistics

Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education

National Research Council

National Academy of Sciences

Washington, D.C. 20418

Statement of

Daniel B. Levine

Study Director, Panel on Immigration Statistics

Before the

Subcommittee on Census and Population

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

House of Representatives

October 10, 1985

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the invitation to appear before your subcommittee to discuss the results of the study on the availability and adequacy of immigration statistics, conducted by the Committee on National Statistics of the National Research Council. In essence, Mr. Chairman, the Committee's Panel on Immigration Statistics concluded that the present systems are inadequate for providing answers that can and should be available to help manage and understand our immigration system and, still more important, to create a basis for national immigration policies. Consider a question of wide public interest: Do immigrants, legal and illegal, take jobs away from those already here, especially minorities and youth? We just don't know, and the underlying reason we don't know is not that analysis has been inadequate, but rather that the data needed for a convincing analysis do not exist. It is not just a question of timeliness or quality, but also a conceptual failure to understand what data are for and how they can be used. The INS and other government agencies produce masses of data, if not always timely and not always accurate, about immigrants, refugees and the foreign born, but the data are not what we need to answer the fundamental policy issues of the day. This point leads to the second consideration, namely the substantial effort that goes into the collection of many of the other data series generated by government. Immigration, in contrast, appears to be the stepchild of the federal statistical system. A history of neglect has affected record keeping concerning one of the most fundamental processes underlying the development of American society--the arrival and integration of new populations into contemporary American social and economic structures.

The expressions of concern over inadequate, incomplete, and often unreliable information for use in planning, implementing, or evaluating immigration policy are neither just of recent origin nor a product solely of

the study. Examples are many and extend at least over the past 15 years, but I shall refer to only two of recent vintage: In 1978, the Select Committee on Population of the House of Representatives, in attempting to explore the role of immigration in future population growth, concluded that "immigration issues are clouded by faulty data and inflamed passions--not a good combination for rational policymaking." And even more recently, during last year's debate on aspects of the Simpson-Mazzoli legislation, the House Judiciary Committee noted that, "the Committee is deeply concerned about the unavailability of accurate and current statistical information on immigration matters . . . The Committee notes . . . that INS has not devoted sufficient resources and attention to this problem and, to a great extent, has ignored the statistical needs of Congress, as well as the research needs of demographers and other outside users." These are not the Panel's words, Mr. Chairman, but I believe they speak eloquently to the problem.

The Charge to the Panel

Responding to the growing chorus of concerns, the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the U.S. Department of Justice asked the National Research Council's Committee on National Statistics to convene a conference to assess the feasibility of and need for a review of federal immigration statistics. Held in late 1980, the conference strongly supported the idea of a comprehensive review and, accordingly, in late 1982 the Committee on National Statistics formed a special Panel on Immigration Statistics, with the support of the INS. A list of the Panel members is attached.

The panel's objectives were three:

o To determine the data needs for immigration policy, for administration of immigration law, and for other purposes related to immigration;

o To review existing data sources related to immigration, emigration, and the foreign stock and to assess their statistical adequacy; and

o To identify major shortcomings and recommend appropriate remedies and actions.

What the Panel Found

The one fact that struck the panel repeatedly was that a statistical system to produce immigration data does exist, but it does so in an atmosphere of almost total neglect. We found an extraordinary lack of concern with the situation on the part of many who are key to the operation of the statistical system, an almost total ignorance of its existence on the part of the top management that most needs its products, and, finally, that this neglect extends throughout almost all levels of responsibility and almost all the agencies most directly involved in the system. Further, the Congress, with its ultimate power of the purse, must share in the blame for having condoned the situation far too long.

In its explorations into data needs and availability, the panel was surprised to find that the Immigration and Nationality Act, the legislative centerpiece in the immigration field, mandates very little statistical compilation. Nonetheless, program needs (more than policy needs) have resulted in the establishment of administrative record-keeping systems that are the source of a variety of information on those entering or applying to enter the United States as immigrants, visitors, students, or in some other category. For the most part, requests for information for policy purposes are met from these record-keeping sources.

The examination of data needs versus availability led directly to the agencies and offices that produce or use the data or, in many cases, do both. The INS is, of course, predominant in the collection, if not the

dissemination, of data. Unfortunately, the panel also found its resources and capabilities to be inadequate for the job of producing relevant, accurate, and timely statistics. Even recognizing the legal and administrative missions of the agency and that the statistical activities of the service are directly related to and controlled by the activities involved in carrying out its missions--monitoring entry into and exit from the United States and changes in legal status--the panel noted numerous examples of the agency's inability to meet its own needs, much less those from outside.

Two examples illustrate this inability. The first concerns the G-23 report, which summarizes office workload activities on a monthly basis in a variety of areas and contains some 25,000 potential data entries. When "statistics" are discussed at INS, the point of reference is usually the G-23 report. Why then was the panel told repeatedly by staff at all levels of the agency that data reported on the G-23 are assumed to be inaccurate, invalid, and irrelevant to program evaluation and operational analysis?

The second example is a quote from the latest INS Statistical Yearbook, that for 1983, which states, "Data processing problems resulted in incomplete information on immigrants admitted to the United States in fiscal years 1980 through 1983." These problems also were responsible for the loss of all nonimmigrant information for fiscal year 1980 and incomplete nonimmigrant information for 1982. In fairness to the INS, it should be noted that a major effort is now under way in the agency to install automated systems that are intended to overcome many of the problems that have plagued it in the past, and the effort indeed appears to be having some success. Planning for these systems was preceded by an extensive study of the information requirements of the agency; unfortunately, the needs for

policy information of the executive branch or the Congress, while acknowledged, were considered to be outside the purview of the exercise and were omitted from examination.

Issue of Quality

It would be naive, however, to assume that automation will fully solve the problems that have been evident for too long a time in the statistical operations of the INS. Data vary in quality, refinement, consistency, accessibility, and timeliness. The agency's problems are fundamental and pervasive but center on the basic issue of quality. The Statistical Analysis Branch, the key organizational entity as far as statistics are concerned, does not even appear on an organizational chart of the agency and its influence has been notable for its absence.

Three factors can be said to characterize the low status of statistical programs in the INS:

o A lack of understanding and commitment throughout the agency to the need for high-quality statistics;

o The lack of emphasis on statistics in the current bureaucratic structure; and

o The absence of standards for performance in the collection, processing, or publication of data.

Taken together, these factors are significant warning signals and clearly demonstrate that immediate and direct action is necessary. What is required is a fundamental change in the outlook of the institution toward statistics, a change that will recognize explicitly and unequivocally the role of statistics and statistical analysis in the mission of the INS and will ensure that this role is nurtured and supported.

Agency Coordination

Not surprisingly, data on aliens are collected and produced by a variety of federal agencies or offices, either as a result of dealing directly with aliens, as in the case of the Bureau of Consular Affairs of the State Department, or as a by-product of their activities, as in the case of the Social Security Administration. The panel reviewed a total of 11 separate organizations within eight different Cabinet-level agencies; the number of organizations having some information on aliens, or the potential to obtain such information, is greater.

The overriding impression that emerged from this review was of the need for coordination and direction. Each agency has followed its own institutional priorities in the area of what to collect, how to define it, whether to publish it, or how much to spend on it, with little regard for the broader issues involved. There is obvious potential for the establishment of symbiotic relationships between agencies, whereby the use and interpretation of one data set could be greatly enhanced by ready access to others, but in the field of immigration statistics this potential has gone largely unrealized.

Someone must bring together all the agencies concerned with immigration data, both those who produce and those who use, in order to ensure the best use of scarce resources, whether money, staff, time, or public tolerance. Progress must be monitored, as must adherence to standards, common definitions, timeliness in publication, and full disclosure of procedures and problems. Only through such coordination will significant improvement occur in the data base.

Logic dictates that this coordinating role be played by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), which, by statute and through its review of

budget proposals, is ultimately responsible for establishing current statistical agenda and for monitoring progress. It is regrettable that OMB has not adequately exercised its coordinating authority in recent years, but action now is not too late to improve the data base for future policy deliberations.

One segment of the data, emigration from the United States, is totally lacking and is generally ignored in discussions of immigration statistics. Yet estimates made during the past few decades indicate that more than 100,000 persons move out of the United States each year. A strategy should be devised for making accurate and timely estimates of emigration.

Finally, as part of its task, the panel explored the possibilities of developing estimates of the illegal population in the United States. Following a review of existing methodologies and studies, as well as meeting with interested researchers to explore new approaches, the panel concluded, albeit reluctantly, that it could not identify or contribute to any breakthroughs in methodology that would substantially narrow the current uncertainty in the estimates. Nonetheless, the brief review of the methods used to estimate the size of the illegal population did lead the panel to the view that, although all the studies suffer from uncertainties, the number of illegals currently in the United States is between 2 million and 4 million and, further, that the number had not been growing remarkably fast in recent years.

Major Recommendations

The concluding objective of the panel's charge was to identify major shortcomings and recommend appropriate remedies and actions. Since many different organizations are involved in the area of immigration statistics, the panel's comments are directed to many different places. The panel

strongly emphasized, however, the need for these diverse groups to act in concert. The recommendations represent a range of different actions that will be fully successful only if implemented as a whole.

Most of the recommendations are general in nature, concerned with process rather than the particular, and intentionally so. It is the panel's belief, after extensive study of the current situation and how it has arisen, that superficial local patching will not solve the problem. Without major changes in direction from the top policy-making levels and focused interest within the key agencies--the Congress, the Department of Justice, the INS, and OMB, the immigration statistics system will never produce reliable and timely statistics that permit rational decision making concerning immigration policy.

I have attached a listing of those recommendations that, in the Panel's view, are of overriding importance, both because they require action and commitment at a high policy level and because each is fundamental to the accomplishment of the key goal--the ready availability of accurate, timely, and useful statistical information on international migration. Failure to implement these key recommendations will result in failure to improve the data system fully and cost effectively.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would be happy to respond to any questions.

Summary of Major Recommendations

The Panel on Immigration Statistics recommends that Congress:

o Strongly affirm the importance of reliable, accurate, and timely statistical information on immigration to the needs of the Congress and direct the Attorney General to reexamine the organizational structure of the Immigration and Naturalization Service as it relates to statistics, with a view to placing greater priority on this important task;
o Require that the Attorney General prepare and submit by June 30 each year an annual report to the President and the Congress, presenting data on aliens admitted or excluded, naturalizations, asylees, and refugees, describing their characteristics, and containing an analysis of significant developments during the preceding fiscal year in the field of immigration and emigration; and
o Mandate that a study be initiated and conducted among new immigrants over a 5-year period, in order to develop information for policy guidance on the adjustment experience of families and individuals to the labor market, use of educational and health facilities, reliance on social programs, mobility experience, and income history.

The panel recommends that the Attorney General:

o Issue a strong policy directive asserting the importance of reliable, accurate, and timely statistical information on immigration to the mission of the INS and unequivocally committing the INS to improving its existing capabilities.

The panel recommends that the commissioner of the INS:

o Issue an explicit statement clearly setting forth that the collection, cumulation, and tabulation of reliable, accurate, and timely statistical information on immigration is a basic responsibility and inherent in the mission of the INS;
o Establish a Division of Immigration Statistics, reporting directly to an associate commissioner or an equivalent level, with overall responsibility:

--for ensuring the use of appropriate statistical standards and procedures in the collection of data throughout the agency;
--for ensuring the timely publication of a variety of statistical and analytic reports;
--for providing statistical assistance and direction to all parts of the agency to help in carrying out their mission;
--for directing statistical activities throughout the agency;

o Direct and implement the recruitment of a full complement of competent, trained professionals with statistical capabilities and subject-area expertise;

- Establish an advisory committee composed of experts in the use and production of immigration-related data, to advise the associate commissioner and the proposed Division of Immigration Statistics of needs for new or different types of data; to review existing data and data collection methodology; and to provide the Service with independent evaluation of its statistical products, plans, and performance;
- Establish formal liaison with other federal and state agencies involved in the collection or analysis of immigration- and emigration-related data; and
- Initiate a review of all data gathering activities to eliminate duplication, minimize burden and waste, review specific data needs and uses, improve question wording and format design, standardize definitions and concepts, document methodologies, introduce statistical standards and procedures, and promote efficiencies in the use of staff and resources.

The panel recommends that the director, Office of Management and Budget (OMB):

- Ensure that OMB exercise its responsibilities to monitor and review statistical activities and budgets concerning statistics on immigration and emigration, and particularly those of the INS, to minimize duplication and ensure that appropriate procedures are used, standards met, and priorities observed in the collection, production, and publication of such data;
- Require and establish an interagency review group responsible for direction and coordination in the field of immigration and emigration data; the group would examine consistency and comparability in concepts and definitions used by individual organizations in the collection of such information; and oversee the introduction and use of standardized approaches; and
- Actively encourage and support the timely publication and dissemination of data on immigration, emigration, the ready availability of fully documented public-use data tapes, including samples of individual records without identifiers where feasible, and data summaries.

In making its recommendations, the panel has been mindful of costs. Many of its recommendations fall within the scope and margin of administrative discretion, and, if they require additional funds, the amounts are relatively small. Two of the panel's major recommendations will require new funding, but in both cases implementation will be gradual, with expenditures spread over a number of years. The major recommendation for change in administrative structure concerns the establishment of a Division of Immigration Statistics within the INS, which will have increased authority, responsibility, and professional staff. We expect, however, that a period of 3-5 years will be required for the full development of such a division, in order to locate and integrate new staff and to acquire new responsibilities and demonstrate capability on a step-by-step basis. Thus, the initial cost implications are modest and the cost increments can be viewed in the light of some initial accomplishments. The major recommendation for a new data collection initiative, the longitudinal survey of immigrants, also requires new funding but, again, the estimated cost will be spread over a number of years and is amply justified in the view of the panel.

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES/NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education

Committee on National Statistics

Panel on Immigration Statistics

July 1983

Burton H. Singer (Chair)
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Columbia University

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Fragomen, Del Rey and Bernsen
Washington, D. C.

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NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
COMMISSION ON BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES AND EDUCATION
2101 Constitution Avenue Washington, D.C. 20418

COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL STATISTICS
PANEL ON IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

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November 12, 1985

The Honorable Robert Garcia
Chair, Subcommittee on Census
and Population
Committee on Post Office and Civil Service
U.S. House of Representatives
219 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Attached are my responses to the questions you sent me as followup to my testimony before the recent hearing on immigration of your Subcommittee on Census and Population. I trust they will be helpful in dealing with this important issue.

It was a pleasure to appear once again before your Subcommittee. If I may be of any additional assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Daniel B. Levine

Daniel B. Levine
Senior Research Associate

Attachment

DANIEL B. LEVINE

QUESTIONS

1) What are we going to do about the collection of immigration statistics? How do we get unbiased, impartial numbers? Is it possible for INS to be impartial, as impartial as the Census Bureau in the collection of these statistics?

2) Doesn't the Department of Justice have a definite opinion on the immigration legislation pending before Congress? Census does not. Wouldn't it be, therefore, more suitable to have Census collect this data so as to insure its objectivity?

3) At the end of its testimony INS said it was pleased with the report. That being the case, is that 19th century filing system that the report refers to in its opening page, still a throwback to the the era of Charles Dickens? Having listened to Mr. Nahan's testimony, would you like to comment on the recommendations that INS has already implemented.

4) What kind of statistics does INS keep on the net migration of persons from this country?

5) What impact does this figure, the number of persons leaving our country each year, have on keeping correct numbers on the net number of immigrants coming to the U.S. each year?

6) Would the Census Bureau be a better place to collect immigration statistics? If Census had that responsibility, would it be more able, to quote Mr. Nahan, "turn the story reported (on immigration statistics) from one of 'neglect' into one of success"?

7) What would the problems be with having the Census Bureau be the source of this data? What would the benefits be?

8) On page 144 of the study there is a list of recommendations made to the Commissioner of INS regarding the study. INS will be asked to provide a response as to what it has or hasn't done to implement these recommendations. A copy of the response will then be submitted to the Academy for evaluation. The Academy's evaluation will also be part of the record.

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
COMMISSION ON BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES AND EDUCATION
2101 Constitution Avenue Washington, D.C. 20418

COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL STATISTICS
PANEL ON IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Telephone (202) 334-3086

November 12, 1985

Responses to Inquiries from the Subcommittee on Census and Population

1. The recent report, Immigration Statistics, A Story of Neglect, issued by the National Research Council, provides both the framework and the detailed recommendations which, if implemented, would lead to substantial improvement in the immigration statistics system. Given leadership and commitment, accurate, timely, reliable and consistent statistics can be produced and provided by the INS. The issue is not impartiality in collection; rather it is recognition of the importance of professionalism in the organization, full support for its activities, and the granting of independence in carrying out its mission.

2. One would indeed expect that those responsible for policy determination in the Department of Justice would have definite opinions on the immigration legislation before the Congress. One would expect just the opposite on the part of a statistical organization whose mission is the collection of objective information, not the determination of policy. For example, rarely if ever does one hear criticism of the Bureau of Labor Statistics or its data solely because the Department of Labor is using the same data in connection with a policy stance.

As noted in the report, it also would be difficult if not impossible for an agency other than INS to collect much of the data provided by INS since the information is obtained from administrative records compiled as an inherent part of its administrative responsibilities. Again, it would be far better in my judgment to foster and support the development of a statistical group within INS which would have the capability to interact with the appropriate administrative levels to insure the quality, consistency and reliability of the statistical product. This, of course, is the arrangement followed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in obtaining administrative data from other parts of its Department or from cooperating State agencies for use in the preparation and publication of many of its important data series.

3. As noted in my testimony before the Subcommittee, we are pleased that INS finds the report worthwhile and useful, and already has implemented a number of the recommendations. Recognizing that "Rome was not built in a day", we remain optimistic that the Panel's recommendations will be reviewed carefully by INS, as well as by other agencies and offices, and that the majority will be implemented in the coming years. The Congress, of course, through its oversight and monitoring of INS actions, can contribute to insuring continuing movement toward implementation of the Panel's recommendations.

4/5. Information on emigration is vital to the understanding of population change as well as the long term effect of immigration policy on the economy and the social structure of the Nation. At the present time, INS is not required to, nor does it, compile any statistics on emigration or on net migration of the population or of immigrants. The Census Bureau, using data from the decennial censuses as well as from its current surveys, has prepared estimates of net migration for use in preparing current estimates of the population of the United States. Similarly, researchers outside the government have made estimates of net migration. The fact remains, however, that much more needs to be done to advance the state of knowledge in this area. The Census Bureau has had plans for several years to experiment on the use of surveys to obtain some much needed data but, to date, funding has not been available.

6. Given the many necessary players in the game of immigration, the question is not one of who can do the task best, but rather one of insuring that all the relevant and essential players do the job right and do the right job. As noted earlier in response to q. 2, there is in fact no way that the Census Bureau alone could provide what is needed. The task of providing information begins with the State Department consular staff who generally are the first to be contacted by potential aliens, be they visitors or immigrants or businessmen or students. INS enters the picture as the alien steps on our shores and is tallied, classified, interrogated, and allowed to enter. The path broadens quickly from there and, in addition to additional visits to the INS, can involve such diverse program agencies as Social Security, Labor, IRS, and a host of local public and private agencies with which the alien may become involved. At the other extreme, of course, one finds the research and data gathering groups, such as the Census Bureau. Certainly, one can ask and expect the Census Bureau to do more and to do it perhaps better than it is now being done, given its mix of technically skilled and competent professionals. At the same time, one must not, one cannot, ignore the need to improve the quality, timeliness and consistency of the base data collected through administrative contacts by the players noted above, since it is these data which must of necessity be the raw materials of whoever is the craftsman. Put more directly, "garbage in, garbage out."

7. See (6) above. I would repeat that there is definite value in having the Bureau's expertise applied to this issue. It is essential, however, that the Bureau devote its talent to that which it does best--collecting, processing, and analyzing data. If the Congress wishes to assign more of this task in the immigration area to the Bureau, it must be prepared to provide funding and adequate resources, and clearly state what responsibilities and authority are to be lodged in the Bureau. And withal, the question of the quality of the data provided by INS or State will remain.

Daniel B. Levine
Senior Research Associate
Committee on National Statistics

Mr. GARCIA. Thank you, Mr. Levine. I just would like to add, you have not lost any of your sharpness over these last 7 or 8 years. Like Howard Cosell, you say as it is, or you say it like it is.

Mr. LEVINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I don't think you have lost any of yours, either, from what I have heard.

Mr. GARCIA. Now based upon Mr. Levine's statement, I guess, Mr. John Nahan, who is the Director of Office of Plans and Analysis for Immigration and Naturalization Service would be next. Why don't you proceed?

STATEMENT OF JOHN E. NAHAN, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF PLANS AND ANALYSIS, IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

Mr. NAHAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to be here today on behalf of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

I was particularly pleased to take note of the upbeat tone conveyed by your opening statement. In our view, the press stories that have surrounded this issue have chose to emphasize one appendix of the report and almost totally ignore the body of the report. The term neglect has been used on many occasions in reference to changes to immigration statistics; nonetheless we believe the reports represents an opportunity to turn this enterprise into a success over the next few years.

As Mr. Levine noted, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was the agency that commissioned this effort in the first place. We wholeheartedly support it. For a number of us who have been in the agency over the years and who were encouraging this type of study, we were pleased that in 1982, we were finally able to bring about the necessary funding for this effort.

Let me start at the outset to try and eliminate one of the things where a certain amount of confusion has been conveyed and that has to do with the placement of the statistics function within the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The office that I direct, Plans and Analysis, includes the statistics collection and statistical analysis functions of the agency. Statistics was put there by our current Commissioner 3 years ago in a major reorganization of the agency. The office is the major analysis staff in the agency and reports to the Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, and Executive Associate Commissioner. In the 10 or 12 years before that in which I was familiar with the agency's statistics, functions, they had not been that highly placed in the organization. It was put there because of a developing sensitivity and concern within our agency about research statistics and analysis and their important interrelationship. Additionally, it was placed there to further emphasize statistics endeavors.

If I may, I am going to summarize the statement that we have submitted and hopefully you will include it in its entirety in the record.

Mr. GARCIA. Without objection, that will be included in the record.

Mr. NAHAN. Immigration has grown as an issue of public policy during the past two decades as a result of the growth of illegal immigration and large increases in legal immigration. Since 1965, over 4 million illegal immigrants have settled here. Legal immigra-

tion nearly doubled from about 300,000 in 1965 to almost 600,000 in each of the past 3 years.

The new immigrants, both legal and illegal, are more likely to be from Latin America and Asia, and to settle in the West, than those who came here before 1965. Many of the immigrants, especially those from Asia, are becoming citizens at a high rate—the number of naturalizations is now higher than at any point during the past 30 years.

Even with the large increases in legal and illegal immigration, the United States has continued its tradition of accepting refugees from troubled areas of the world. Over a million refugees have come to the United States during the past two decades.

Along with the interest and concern about immigration, it has been apparent for some time that more information about the size and impact of immigration is needed to formulate effective policy. Several working groups inside and outside of Government have made recommendations during the past 10 years for legislative changes to regain control of immigration.

In addition to immigration reform, these groups have considered ways to improve immigration-related statistics to monitor the process of immigration into this country.

During the past few years, significant progress has been made in both of these areas: Legislative reform and improved statistics.

Legislation has been debated extensively and has passed one or both houses of Congress over the past several years. Last year, reform legislation passed both houses but was not reported out of conference. This September, the Senate passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1985 by a vote of 69 to 30. We believe that the legislation now before Congress will help to restore control over immigration to this country within the next few years.

Developing and evaluating the effects of new legislation requires current and accurate statistics about immigration. In 1982, the INS sponsored a study of U.S. immigration statistics by the National Academy of Sciences. We received the report of the Panel on Immigration Statistics this past summer.

Many of the recommendations of the panel have already been implemented. Our statistical reports are more up to date and the Statistics Branch has been improved. We are also funding research on apprehended illegal aliens and are cosponsoring a project with the Census Bureau to collect demographic information on the foreign born population. We will implement as many of the panel's recommendations as we can within the limits of our resources. The National Academy Panel should be valuable to all agencies that collect statistics on the immigrant population.

The only unfortunate aspect of the report was that in our opinion, the press gave far too much attention to a statement that the illegal alien population has not grown since 1980. The conclusion was based on the fact that apprehensions in the interior of the country have not increased rapidly since 1980. The statement which appeared in the appendix to the report did not take into account the changing nature of INS's enforcement priority since 1980. In fact, after the panel report had been written, the Census Bureau released figures that showed an annual increase of roughly 200,000 illegal aliens each year since 1980.

We believe, however, that progress is being made in the policy area and that our statistical information is improving rapidly.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Robert Warren, our acting chief of the Statistical Analysis Branch, is joining me here today and he will assist me, if necessary, in answering any specific questions you may have.

Thank you.

Mr. GARCIA. Thank you very much.

[The statement of Mr. Nahan follows:]

Department of Justice

STATEMENT

OF

JOHN E. NAHAN
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF PLANS AND ANALYSIS
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

BEFORE

THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CENSUS AND POPULATION
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

CONCERNING

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES REPORT,
IMMIGRATION STATISTICS: A STORY OF NEGLECT

ON

OCTOBER 10, 1985

Chairman Garcia and members of the Subcommittee on Census and Population.

I am pleased to represent Commissioner Nelson in testifying concerning the report of the National Academy of Sciences' National Research Council entitled Immigration Statistics: A Story of Neglect. Mr. Robert Warren, Acting Chief of the INS Statistical Analysis Branch, will be available to provide more detailed information.

Interest in the level and composition of immigration has reemerged as a significant area of public interest and public policy concern during the past 15 years. The role of immigration in U.S. population growth has increased considerably as the numbers of legal and illegal immigrants and refugees has grown steadily in the past decade.

Interest in immigration intensified with the debate over the size, characteristics, and impact of the illegal alien population. Moreover, the changes in the character of legal immigration resulting from the 1965 Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act became apparent in the early 1970's and further encouraged research on the impact of immigration. In addition to the large increases in legal and illegal immigration, nearly a million refugees have been admitted to the United States since 1974.

As interest and concern about immigration grew it became apparent that immigration reform was needed and that better data and information on the demographic, economic, and social impacts of legal and illegal immigration were required to formulate such policy. A series of Governmental studies were undertaken on the subject, including the Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens (December 1976), the House Select Committee on Population (December 1978), and the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (March

1981). The reports generated by all of these groups recommended changes in immigration policy and, noting the void of quality, useful information, also recommended studying and making major changes in immigration statistics. In late 1982, INS sponsored the National Academy of Sciences to conduct a major study to:

- Determine the data needs for immigration policy, for administration of immigration law, and for other purposes related to immigration;
- Review existing data sources related to immigration, emigration, and the foreign stock and to assess their statistical adequacy; and
- Identify major shortcomings and recommend appropriate remedies and actions.

This major effort, in order to establish a solid data base for developing immigration policy focused on ways of improving U.S. immigration statistics collected by Federal agencies, with primary but not sole attention given to the statistics maintained by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. INS staff worked closely with Panel members and Academy staff for the duration of their effort and I am pleased to report that many of the recommendations of the Panel on Immigration Statistics related to the INS have already been implemented. For example, we have published the INS annual statistical reports for 1982 and 1983 this year and expect to publish the 1984 report before the end of the year. Data on immigrants, nonimmigrants, apprehensions, and removal have been available since soon after the close of fiscal year 1984. As recommended by the Academy, the position of INS' Statistical Analysis Branch has been elevated organizationally to increase its visibility and ensure high-level attention.

The professionalism of the Branch has also been improved through training, hiring of highly-qualified professionals, and greatly increasing automated capabilities. An INS Research Clearinghouse has been initiated to develop an information center on immigration and immigration-related research. A speakers' series, the "Commissioner's Forum" has also been initiated to bring well-known researchers and experts in immigration-related areas to Washington to address policy makers. To the extent possible within current funding limits, INS is also initiating a research program consisting of both in-house and contract research. We have, for example, recently funded research on apprehended illegal aliens. Additionally, a new series of quarterly nonimmigrant bulletins was initiated in September 1985.

Further implementation of Academy recommendations will include establishment of a data users panel, development of statistical standards and policy, and increased liaison with the other agencies collecting and using immigration-related data. As an example of increased Federal coordination, the INS and Census Bureau are co-sponsoring a supplement to the Current Population Survey (CPS) in June 1986 to collect statistics on the foreign-born population. The CPS supplement will produce current statistics on the foreign-born population and estimates of the growth of the resident illegal alien population since 1983.

During the next few years we will continue to implement our extensive plans for automated data processing. The timely and detailed information produced by the new systems will be valuable for providing better and more detailed information and for assessing immigration policy. The data will also be useful in conjunction with the 1990 census. For example, the number of immigrants admitted during the five years prior to the census can be used to estimate the

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number of illegal aliens counted in the census who entered during the previous 5 years. Also, the census data for the number of naturalized citizens for various periods of entry can be evaluated using INS statistics. In the 1980 census this evaluation led to the conclusion that the Census Bureau's question on citizenship needed to be revised.

During the last twenty years legal immigration has increased and the pressures to immigrate to this country have exceeded our legal limits, which are higher than those of any other country in the world. The illegal alien population grew so rapidly during the 1970's that illegal immigration became a major problem facing the nation. Since 1980 the resident illegal alien population has grown at a rate that would cause it to double in less than 10 years. Effective legislation is needed to reassert control over immigration to this country. Accurate and timely statistics are needed to monitor the process. As described, considerable progress is being made in this regard.

As you are aware, legislative reform is proceeding in this session of Congress. Provisions of the bill include measures which would effectively stem the flow of illegal immigration. The bill also recognizes the need to legalize aliens who have resided in our society for several years.

The need for this legislation is demonstrated by the size and continuing growth of the number of illegal aliens in the United States. Again during the last fiscal year, the number of illegal aliens apprehended at the border increased. More than 5 million apprehensions have occurred since 1980. Total apprehensions increased steadily from 110 thousand in 1965 to the present level of a million and a quarter each year.

The most widely accepted estimates of the illegal alien population at the present time are in the 4 to 6 million range, with permanent residents accounting for at least 3 to 4 million and other illegal aliens estimated at between 1 to 2 million. The Census Bureau recently reported that the number of illegal residents was growing by nearly a quarter of a million each year in the early 1980's.

At this point we should comment on a widely reported statement in the National Academy of Sciences report to the effect that the illegal alien population was in the 2 to 4 million range in 1980 and has not grown rapidly since 1980. Chapter 1 of the report states "the brief review of methods..., which appears in Appendix B, leads the Panel to the view that...the number of illegals currently in the United States is between 2 and 4 million and further, that the number has not been growing remarkably fast in recent years."

The statement in the Academy report that the population has not grown remarkably fast in recent years is based on the observation that INS apprehensions of illegal aliens who had been in the United States for relatively long periods of time had not increased appreciably since 1980. The conclusion does not take into account the nature of INS enforcement efforts and the changes in INS enforcement priorities during the period after 1980. These changes have resulted in a relatively greater emphasis on prevention of entry and on criminal activity rather than on increasing the number of apprehensions in the interior.

Research completed by the Census Bureau after the National Academy of Sciences panel report had been written shows that the illegal alien population has increased by approximately 200,000 annually since 1980. The Bureau's

estimates are based on the number of illegal aliens counted in the November 1979 and April 1983 Current Population Surveys. The present INS position that the illegal population is currently in the 4-6 million range and continuing to grow is firmly based on the available empirical data. Because this later more empirical information shows otherwise and because the much-quoted statement in the Academy report was not central to the highly valuable work of the Panel, we have been especially disappointed about the heavy media coverage given the Appendix statements included with the Panel's report.

Otherwise, as indicated, INS is generally pleased with the recommendations of the National Academy of Sciences Panel on Immigration Statistics and is helping to turn the story reported as one of "neglect" into one of success. The INS will continue to improve its statistical information to assist in developing an effective immigration policy. In addition to making our information more timely and complete we will continue to work closely with other concerned Federal agencies and to encourage research on the demographic impact of immigration on our society.

U.S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

CO 979-C

425 Eye Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20536

DEC 6 1985

Congressman Robert Garcia
Chairman, Subcommittee on
Census and Population
219 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman Garcia:

This is in response to your letter dated October 9, 1985, with follow-up questions to be included in the record of the hearings held on October 10, 1985. We regret the delay in responding to your request; our responses to the questions are enclosed.

Please let us know if we can provide additional information about the collection and compilation of immigration statistics by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Sincerely,

John E. Nahan

John E. Nahan
Director
Plans and Analysis

Enclosure

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON IMMIGRATION STATISTICS
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CENSUS AND POPULATION

1. What are we going to do about the collection of immigration statistics? How do we get unbiased, impartial numbers? Is it possible for INS to be impartial, as impartial as the Census Bureau in the collection of these statistics?

Collection of Immigration Statistics

The INS will continue to collect and distribute the most timely, accurate and complete statistics possible within the constraints of its resources. INS initiatives in automation, in funding the NAS Study, and in upgrading its statistical capabilities have already resulted in significantly improved immigration statistics and have established a firm foundation for additional improvement initiatives.

Unbiased Statistics

We believe that INS is the best and most logical source of unbiased, impartial statistics on immigration. The National Academy of Sciences study of immigration statistics did not cite cases of bias or partiality in the immigration statistics collected by INS.

Impartiality of INS

The INS is currently as impartial in the collection of our statistics as the Census Bureau would be. Where feasible both agencies can work together to improve immigration statistics. For example, INS is now working closely with the Census Bureau in developing estimates of the illegal alien population and its growth.

2. Doesn't the Department of Justice have a definite opinion on the immigration legislation pending before Congress? Census does not. Wouldn't it be, therefore, more suitable to have Census collect this data so as to insure its objectivity?

Immigration Legislation

The Department of Justice and the INS have presented their views in favor of the pending immigration reform legislation before Congress at a number of recent hearings.

Data Collection

It is not clear to what type of data this question refers. Since most data collection by INS is a by-product of administrative or operational activities required of INS by the Immigration and Nationality Act, it is logical for INS to be responsible for the collection and publication of this information. If the question refers to collection of data as part of a possible legalization program, an appropriate Census Bureau role would be to provide advice in technical matters, such as sampling techniques, questionnaire design, and data processing. In terms of actual data collection, a number of organizations, such as voluntary agencies, would probably be better suited to assume the responsibility than the Census Bureau.

3. What kind of statistics does INS keep on the net migration of persons from this country?

The INS does not compile statistics on emigration from the United States. The NAS study recommended that the Census Bureau develop statistics on emigration as part of its efforts to estimate the size and characteristics of the U.S. population. An INS statistician has done considerable work on the use of Census, INS, and other data to estimate the size of emigration from the United States. We are very interested in determining more about the parameters of this phenomenon and, through working with Census and other researchers, we will continue to take feasible steps to obtain better information on emigration.

4. What impact does this figure, the number of persons leaving our country each year, have on keeping correct numbers on the net number of immigrants coming to the U.S. each year?

It is necessary to have information on emigration to estimate net immigration to the United States. Complete statistics on U.S. emigration would include not only alien emigration but also movement from the United States to Puerto Rico and emigration of native-born persons to various foreign countries. Data published by INS is on gross rather than net immigration.

5. How many individuals did INS actually apprehend in 1984?

In fiscal year 1984 a total of 1,246,977 deportable aliens were located by INS officers. This figure relates to total apprehensions not the number of individuals, since some persons are apprehended several times during a year.

Adequate methodology has not been developed to determine the number of multiple apprehensions, and the NAS study did not suggest any methods of estimating the number of individuals apprehended each year. INS is very interested in obtaining this information, however, and is seeking means through which it could be derived.

6. How accurately can you judge the number of undocumented persons that come to this country each year?

The accuracy of an estimate can be evaluated only with reference to a "correct" number. Since such a number does not exist for undocumented aliens, it is not possible to judge the accuracy of INS or other figures. At the present time INS estimates of the undocumented population—4 to 6 million and increasing by roughly 200,000 settlers each year—are based on and consistent with estimates derived by the Census Bureau. We have and will continue to work closely with the Census Bureau in developing such estimates in the future.

7. Does INS have anyone assigned to evaluate the numbers they collect, in the same way the Census Bureau does?

Evaluation of statistics is the responsibility of all INS program managers as well as the Statistical Analysis Branch and other offices. A Quality Assurance Branch has been established within the Office of Information Services to ensure that the new automated data systems produce high quality statistics. Evaluation and improvement of INS statistical data will continue as we upgrade the Statistical Analysis staff and as automation plays an increasing role in processing data.

8. Would the Census Bureau be a better place to collect immigration statistics? If Census had that responsibility, would it be more able, to quote Mr. Bahan, "turn the story reported (on immigration statistics) from one of 'neglect' into one of success"?

As mentioned earlier, immigration statistics are collected as a part of the ongoing INS mission. It would not be desirable or feasible for the Census Bureau to collect statistics on the 275 million border crossers admitted, the 1.2 million deportable aliens located, the nearly 10 million visitors admitted or the 500,000 immigrants and refugees admitted each year. Clearly, the collection of these data can best be done by the INS at the time of admission or, in the case of deportable aliens, apprehension. The Census Bureau can more appropriately collect information on foreign-born persons who are residing in the country. In short, each agency has an important, appropriate, unique role in collecting U.S. immigration statistics. The increasing mutual support and cooperation between the INS and Census over the past few years has already produced valuable results; such interaction in the future will improve both agencies' collection of immigration related data.

9. On page 144 of the study there is a list of recommendations made to the Commissioner of INS regarding the study. Would you please provide an answer as to what INS has or hasn't done to implement these recommendations. A copy of the response will then be submitted for evaluation to the Academy. The Academy's evaluation will also be part of the record.

The INS commissioned the National Academy study in order to strengthen the collection of immigration-related data throughout the Federal service, not just within the INS. The recommendations of the NAS Panel have been useful in a number of areas and we intend to implement as many more of them as possible. However, decisions about implementation are directly related to the resources available. In response to the INS report, the INS has reiterated the importance of improving its data collection and dissemination, upgraded the position of the Statistical Analysis Branch in the organizational structure, maintained and improved liasion with Federal and other groups involved in collecting and using immigration data, and has committed more than a quarter million dollars to contract research to be done in this fiscal year. Other significant improvements will occur as resources become available. We believe that our lead in beginning prompt implementation of the NAS recommendations serves as a model for other Federal agencies. However, we believe that any review of the implementation of NAS recommendations should be conducted after sufficient time has been allowed for analysis and institution of changes and that the review should cover all the agencies--not just INS--to which recommendations were made.

Mr. GARCIA. Dr. Jeffrey S. Passel, who heads the Demographic Research staff, Population Division, Bureau of the Census, I guess you are next. You have been here before?

STATEMENT OF JEFFREY S. PASSEL, DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH POPULATION DIVISION, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Mr. PASSEL. Yes, several times in several places.

Good morning, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Myers. I do thank you for the opportunity to testify about the report of the National Academy of Sciences' Panel on Immigration Statistics. I have a written statement that I would like to submit for the record.

Mr. GARCIA. Without objection.

Mr. PASSEL. I will be glad to summarize my remarks this morning.

Before I get to my major points, I would like to commend the panel on behalf of the Census Bureau for doing a very thorough study of immigration statistics and for its thoughtful recommendations.

In my statement today I will cover several topics. First, I will describe the role of the Census Bureau in immigration statistics, Then I will present some findings of the Census Bureau's research on the numbers and characteristics of undocumented aliens. Finally, I will comment briefly on the panel's statements about undocumented immigration.

The primary source of current Census Bureau data on immigration is 1980 decennial census data on the foreign-born population, that is, persons who immigrated to the United States at some point before the 1980 census. We have information on where foreign-born persons live, where they came from, when they came, and their social and economic characteristics.

The Census Bureau's monthly "Current Population Survey" has occasionally included questions on country of birth and other information related to immigration. The foreign-born supplements are valuable not only for the up-to-date information they provide on the stock of the foreign-born population, but we can produce information on population flows, particularly undocumented immigration, by analyzing survey data in conjunction with other demographic data. The most recent Census Bureau surveys on the foreign-born population were conducted in November 1979 and April 1983. We are planning another one—the one Mr. Nahan mentioned, that INS is cosponsoring—in June 1986.

The Census Bureau's interest in measuring immigration arises from our responsibility for measuring the size of the U.S. population. Most of the data we use to measure immigration flows are collected by other agencies for their own administrative purposes. Unfortunately, the use of administrative data for analytic and measurement purposes can have certain limitations. Just to give an example, to develop a single figure representing legal immigration to the United States, we must combine administrative data from several agencies. Since the same individual can legitimately appear in several of these data systems at different times, we must take some care to avoid double counting.

Emigration, or movement out of the country, and undocumented immigration are two components of population change which have proved extremely difficult to measure. We were able to measure emigration of aliens for the 1960's and 1970's using data from the INS Alien Registration System. Unfortunately, with the demise of this system in 1981, we have not had a method for measuring current emigration from the United States.

The number of undocumented immigrants in the country and the rate at which their number is growing have been a matter of concern and speculation for a number of years. For approximately the last 5 years, the Census Bureau has taken a central role in attempting to measure undocumented immigration.

Estimates of the number of undocumented aliens have appeared with some regularity over the past 10 to 15 years. In general, speculative estimates, based on little or no data, have been substantially larger than the analytic estimates. The speculative estimates have also received much more attention in the press and in political debates. Much, although clearly not all, of the confusion regarding the size of the undocumented population comes from a failure to specify clearly the terms being used to define this population.

The immigration literature distinguishes two general types of immigrants—sojourners and settlers. Settlers migrate with the intention of residing permanently in their new homes. For sojourners, the degree of attachment to the new country is considerably less, since they intend to leave their destination after relatively short stays. Undocumented immigrants include both sojourners and settlers.

To these two types, we can add a third type of undocumented immigrant—the commuter. Failure to distinguish between settlers, sojourners, and commuters accounts for some of the wide variation in estimates of the number of undocumented aliens in the United States. The Census Bureau's research has focused almost entirely on settlers.

Analysts attempting to measure the size of this undocumented alien population have been plagued by a lack of data. As more data became available in the late 1970's and early 1980's, a consensus appeared to be emerging that the number of undocumented settlers from Mexico amounted to no more than 1.5 to 2.5 million persons. At the core of this consensus was research done at the Census Bureau to estimate the number of undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census.

We produced these estimates by comparing estimates of the total number of aliens included in the 1980 census with estimates of the number of aliens residing in the country legally, developed primarily from INS data.

I do want to stress that this research did not compromise the confidentiality of U.S. Census data that is required by law because we compared statistical aggregates; we did not attempt to ascertain the legal status of individuals.

Our research estimated that the 1980 census included slightly over 2 million undocumented aliens. About three-quarters of these came to the United States during the 1970's and almost half came during the 5 years before the 1980 census. Mexico accounted for roughly 55 percent of the undocumented aliens included in the

1980 census, or some 1.1 million persons. The rest of Latin America contributed another 22 percent; Asia, 10 percent, and Europe, 9 percent.

Undocumented aliens tend to live in areas with large legal immigrant populations, especially large Hispanic populations. California alone has almost exactly half of the undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census. New York, Texas, Illinois, and Florida together have another 30 percent. Undocumented aliens tend to be concentrated in a few large metropolitan areas. Indeed, one metropolitan area—Los Angeles County—has about one-third of all undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census. The three areas with the largest numbers—Los Angeles, New York City, and Chicago—have almost exactly half of the total.

The major unanswered question about these estimates is: What proportion of the total undocumented population do the estimates represent?

Although we can't answer this question with a great deal of accuracy or precision, our research tends to point consistently to an answer. Our various studies suggest rather strongly that the number of undocumented settlers in the country in 1980 was very likely to fall in the range of 2.5 to 3.5 million.

The Census Bureau has recently completed research which addresses the issue of growth in the undocumented alien population. By comparing estimates from the April 1983 CPS with data from the 1980 census and the November 1979 CPS, we are able to conclude that the undocumented population grew during the period 1980 to 1983 by between 100,000 and 300,000 per year. Although this is still a fairly wide range, these estimates are much lower than some of the speculative estimates quoted in the media.

The Panel on Immigration Statistics did a brief review of the existing estimates of undocumented immigration and concluded—this is a quote that you have already heard once but I will go ahead and read it again, it's brief: "The number of illegals currently in the United States is between 2 and 4 million and, further, that the number has not been growing remarkably fast in recent years."

My own conclusions about the size of this population do not differ appreciably from those reached by the panel. The Census Bureau's estimate, which I just mentioned, of 2.5 to 3.5 million undocumented aliens in 1980, falls squarely in the range suggested by the panel.

Our research does show that the undocumented population grew between 1980 and 1983. However, in fairness to the panel, I should add that we completed this research after their report was written. The estimate of annual growth in the range of 100,000 to 300,000 may not be "remarkably fast" when compared with the more speculative estimates of growth, but it is fast compared to the growth rates of many other groups.

In closing, I would like to emphasize that although the estimates of undocumented aliens presented today are much smaller than many commonly quoted figures, 2 to 4 million people is not a small number.

In considering the scope and implications of various alternatives, it is important to have an understanding of the true size of this population. Furthermore, it is extremely important to be aware of

the distinction between settlers, sojourners, and commuters, even though we can't rigorously define the differences.

I would like to reiterate my compliments to the panel on Immigration Statistics and its staff for a very thorough and thoughtful job. There is no doubt that there is considerable room to improve statistics on immigration. At the Census Bureau, we continually try to improve the quality of our data in this area. We are conducting specific research suggested by the panel, as well as pursuing other avenues of research, particularly in the areas of measuring emigration and undocumented immigration.

I will be glad to answer any questions you might have.

[The statement of Mr. Passel follows:]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

Statement of
Dr. Jeffrey S. Passel

Before the
U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Post Office and Civil Service
Subcommittee on Census and Population
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THE CENSUS BUREAU AND IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Over the last several decades, concern about immigration and its effects has increased in this country. Unfortunately, much of the discussion and many of the decisions have been made in an empirical vacuum because necessary data were either not available or of poor quality. The need for high-quality statistics on immigration led directly to the formation of the National Academy of Sciences' (NAS) Panel on Immigration Statistics to review data requirements together with the existing data systems and then to recommend appropriate actions for producing the needed data.

The Census Bureau would like to commend the Panel on Immigration statistics for doing a very thorough study of immigration statistics and for its thoughtful recommendations. In my testimony today, I will cover several topics. First, I will describe the role of the Census Bureau in immigration statistics. Then I will comment briefly on the Panel's statements about undocumented immigration. Finally, I will present some findings from the Census Bureau's research on the numbers and characteristics of undocumented aliens.

The Census Bureau's Role in Immigration Statistics

The Census Bureau, as a general purpose statistical agency, is not involved in the administration of any immigration program nor are we responsible for formulation or implementation of public policy in the area of immigration. The Census Bureau does produce and use statistics on immigration. We also analyze immigration data from various sources to improve our methods and to help policymakers clarify their options. Through our censuses, surveys, and other programs, the Census Bureau produces and develops a wealth of information pertaining to immigration.

Immigration can be thought of as affecting two related demographic dimensions--population stocks which represent the number of people in a given area at a particular time and population flows which are the number of people moving into or out of a given area during a particular time period. The Census Bureau plays a major role in producing (collecting) data on the stock of former immigrants, i.e. the foreign-born population. In measuring population flows, the Bureau produces some estimates to fill gaps in the existing data, but most of our primary data on immigration flows is collected by others.

Census Bureau Data on the Foreign-Born Population

The primary source of detailed Census Bureau data on the foreign-born population is the 1980 decennial census. The sample phase of the census asked about country of birth, citizenship status, and year of immigration. These data provide a great deal of information on persons who immigrated to the United States at some point before the 1980 census. We have information on where the foreign-born population lives, where they came from, when they came, and their social and economic characteristics.

The Census Bureau conducts a monthly survey of the population--the Current Population Survey (CPS)--which is designed primarily to measure employment. Although this survey does not routinely collect information specifically for the foreign-born population, we have occasionally added questions to the survey that asked country of birth and other information relating to immigration. Because the CPS sample is much smaller than the census sample, the information collected about the foreign-born population in the CPS is much less detailed than census data. The foreign-born supplements are valuable not only for the information they provide on the stock of the foreign-born population, but we can produce information on population flows, particularly undocumented immigration, by analyzing the survey in conjunction with other demographic data.

The most recent Census Bureau surveys on the foreign-born population were conducted in November 1979 and April 1983. We are planning another one in June 1986. These surveys have proved to be an extremely useful way to develop both stock and flow data for the foreign-born population. We have not yet secured funding for immigration supplements beyond June 1986.

Census Bureau Data on Population Flows

The Census Bureau's interest in immigration flows comes from our responsibility for measuring the size of the United States population. Most of the data we use to measure immigration flows is collected by other agencies for their own administrative purposes. Although we use data they collect in our analyses, we are not responsible for the data collection. This use of primarily administrative data for analytic and measurement purposes can have certain limitations.

The Census Bureau defines legal immigrants in a different way from the other major provider of data on immigrants--the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). To the INS, a legal immigrant is someone who has been admitted for permanent residence in the United States. Thus, foreign students and refugees, for example, are not considered as immigrants by the INS, but are by the Census Bureau.

To develop a single figure representing legal immigration according to the Census Bureau's definition (i.e., the number of persons legally entering the United States to live each year), we must combine administrative data from several agencies, including INS, the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), and the Bureau of Refugee Programs (BRP). Since the same individual can legitimately appear in several of these data systems at different times, we must take some care to avoid double counting. Interagency cooperation in unduplicating the data systems for legal entrants to the United States would ease the Bureau's task of estimating the number of people entering the country legally each year.

Emigration, or movement out of the country, and undocumented immigration are two important components of population change that have proved extremely difficult to measure. Emigrants have already left the country. Undocumented immigrants, almost by definition, are not identified in any administrative system. Thus, neither group can be measured with traditional techniques. Nonetheless, we have made progress in developing measures of both components and are continuing our research in this area.

Emigration. The Census Bureau was able to measure emigration of aliens for the 1960s and 1970s using data from the INS Alien Registration System. By comparing change in the registered alien population from one year to the

next with data on immigration, mortality, and naturalizations, we were able to estimate the amount of emigration by aliens--the largest part of emigration from the United States. With the demise of the Alien Registration System in 1981, this residual technique can no longer be used to estimate emigration. Since 1981, we have not had a method for measuring current emigration from the United States.

To measure contemporary emigration, we are exploring using a technique called multiplicity (or network) sampling in conjunction with the CPS. With multiplicity sampling, household members in this country are asked if specific relatives have moved out of the United States. This application of network sampling would be experimental in the sense that it has not been used on this scale before. We have not yet secured funding for this research project.

Undocumented Immigration. The number of undocumented immigrants in the country and the rate at which their number is growing have been a matter of concern and speculation for a number of years. For approximately the last 5 years, the Census Bureau has taken a central role in attempting to measure undocumented immigration. Much of our research on undocumented immigration has used data from the decennial census and the Current Population Survey. Our estimates of the stock and flow of undocumented immigrants have provided the basis for a growing consensus on the size of this population.

Neither the census nor the Current Population Survey seeks information on the legal status of immigrants. That is, we cannot tell whether individuals interviewed are aliens admitted for permanent residence, refugees, aliens with other types of visas, or undocumented aliens. We are not able to identify the legal status of particular individuals, nor have we tried to do so. In

addition, we are required by law to keep all individual census and survey data confidential and share them with no one. Undocumented aliens should not be concerned that answering the census or our surveys would lead to action against them by the INS or anyone else, because we do not disclose individually identifiable information to any third party for any purpose. The success of our estimates has depended on the cooperation of undocumented aliens with our censuses and surveys. We hope that the same degree cooperation will continue in future surveys.

NAS Panel's Comments on Undocumented Immigration

The NAS Panel on Immigration Statistics was not charged with the task of estimating the size of the undocumented population of the United States, nor did they conduct a major investigation on the subject. The Panel staff did review the existing estimates of undocumented immigration and explored the possibilities of developing more definitive estimates of the undocumented population in the United States. In their own words, "The Panel concluded, albeit reluctantly, that it could not identify or contribute to any breakthroughs in methodology that would substantially narrow the uncertainty in the estimates." However, the Panel did venture their own speculative assessment:

> ..[T]he brief review of the methods used to estimate the size of the illegal population...leads the panel to the view that, although all the studies suffer from uncertainties, the number of illegals currently in the United States is between 2 and 4 million and, further, that the number has not been growing remarkably fast in recent years. (Emphasis added.)

This statement, which appears in the Overview of the Panel's report, is based on the studies reviewed by the staff in Appendix B of the report. The conclusion in the appendix states:

> Though no range can be soundly defended, a population of 1.5 to 3.5 million illegal aliens in 1980 appears reasonably consistent with most of the studies...

> ...[T]here is no empirical basis at present for the widespread belief that the illegal alien population has increased sharply in the late 1970s and early 1980s; the only available data on recent trends, INS records of locations of deportable aliens, in fact suggest that the population has increased little if at all since 1977...

Although I do not agree in detail with many of the statements made by the staff in their review of the existing studies of undocumented immigration, my own conclusions do not differ appreciably from those reached by the Panel and its staff. The Census Bureau's research, which I will discuss in the next section, leads me to the conclusion that the undocumented population (of permanent residents) was in the range of 2.5 to 3.5 million in 1980. This falls squarely in the range suggested by the Panel and at the upper end of the range posited in the appendix of the report. (Census Bureau research strongly indicates that there could not have been as few as 1.5 million undocumented aliens in the country in 1980--the lower end of the range in the appendix.) Thus, our work is in accord with the Panel's conclusions on the size of the undocumented population as stated in their Overview.

The Panel's conclusions on the growth of the undocumented population are less precise than their statements about its size. In the Overview, the Panel says that the growth is not "remarkably fast." This wording leaves the reader to decide what constitutes fast growth. The study in Appendix B does suggest that the undocumented population has not grown since 1977, but also leaves some room for individual interpretation as to the importance of various growth rates.

Since the report of the NAS Panel on Immigration Statistics was written, the Census Bureau has completed research which addresses the issue of growth in the undocumented alien population. By comparing estimates from the April 1983

Current Population Survey with data from the 1990 census and the November 1979 Current Population Survey, we were able to make some judgments about growth in the undocumented population during 1980-1983.

Our research shows that the undocumented population did grow between 1980 and 1983, contradicting the conclusion of the staff appendix. In fact, our estimates suggest that annual growth during the 3-year period was between 100,000 and 300,000 per year. These estimates are much lower than some of the speculative estimates quoted in the media and imply a much higher rate of growth than of the entire U.S. population. Nevertheless, this range may well be consistent with the Panel's assessment that growth in the undocumented alien population has not been "remarkably fast."

Numbers and Characteristics of Undocumented Aliens

Although the task of the NAS Panel on Immigration Statistics was not directed toward undocumented immigration, their statements about it received considerable attention and raised again the issues surrounding the phenomenon. Unfortunately, the "numbers game" is still being played. Press accounts continue to refer to the "rising tide of illegal immigration" and the "flood" of undocumented immigrants overwhelming the country. Yet, evidence cited in support of such claims is often nonexistent and seldom more than speculation based on impressionistic "data." This situation is unfortunate. It is true that perhaps the greatest demographic mysteries surrounding the population of the United States are the questions of how many undocumented aliens are in the country and how fast their number is growing. Because the size of the undocumented population and its rate of growth are relevant factors in assessing the cost

and effectiveness of any proposed immigration policy, it is important that decisions be based on the best information available.

Types of Undocumented Immigrants

The terms "illegal alien," "undocumented immigrant," "illegal entrant," and the like are used quite often, but are seldom rigorously defined. The distinctions implied by these terms and in many discussions of undocumented immigration have not only failed to add clarity, but in many cases they have only served to obfuscate the issues further. The most common dichotomy of undocumented migrants -- between illegal entrants, also known as "EWIs" (Entries Without Inspection), and visa abusers (or overstayers) -- is an example of a legal/procedural distinction which has not proven to be particularly useful in an analytic sense.

A classification based on duration of residence in the United States and migratory intentions is much more useful in assessing the effects of undocumented immigration and estimates of the size of this population. The types of undocumented immigrants that I will describe today are broad, general types. At the margins and in individual cases, it may be difficult to distinguish among the types. However, as I will show, failure to define which types of undocumented immigrants are being discussed has led to inconsistencies and confusion in this area.

The immigration literature distinguishes two general types of migrants -- "sojourners" and "settlers." Settlers migrate with the intention of residing permanently in the destination country. For sojourners, the degree of attachment to the new country is considerably less since they intend to leave

the destination country after relatively short stays. The move out of the destination country (usually involving a return to the country of origin) is generally intended at the time of migration, but may occur as a result of events in the destination country.

Undocumented migrants to the United States include both sojourners and settlers. Indeed, much and probably most of the undocumented migration from Mexico is of the sojourner type, often on a seasonal basis. To these two types of migrants, we can add a third type of undocumented migrant -- "commuters." Undocumented commuters have extremely short durations of stay in the United States, often measured in days or hours. In fact, some undocumented commuters may never live in the United States, but rather cross the U.S.-Mexican or U.S.-Canadian border illegally on a daily basis to work in the United States. Failure to distinguish between settlers, sojourners, and commuters accounts for some of the wide variation in estimates of the number of undocumented aliens in the United States.

The appropriate definition for the universe of undocumented aliens obviously depends on the purpose of any analysis. An analysis of labor markets or the labor force would probably require information on the number of person-years worked in the United States by undocumented aliens. Such a definition would encompass all three types of undocumented immigrants, i.e. all undocumented immigrants in the U.S. labor force.

Demographers trying to measure the size of the U.S. population on a de jure basis would want to focus only on settlers. Providers of social services, such as health care and education, might find useful a somewhat broader definition of the undocumented population that includes settlers and a

large portion of the sojourner population. The population eligible under many proposed legalization programs consists of undocumented aliens who have resided in the United States continuously since some particular date. Such a population clearly includes only settlers, and not even all of them.

There is no hard and fast rule for delineating the three types of undocumented immigrants. Sojourners with very short durations of residence might be considered by some to be commuters. Persons who intend to be settlers at the time they immigrate might become sojourners if forced to leave the United States by circumstances beyond their control, such as economic difficulties or family deaths. On the other hand, persons whose intentions are to be sojourners might find conditions in the United States even more hospitable than they had imagined and thus become settlers. Even though such marginal distinctions may be difficult, analysts and policymakers should take care that any data being used conform, at least approximately, to an appropriate definition.

Estimates of Undocumented Immigrants

Estimates of the number of undocumented aliens have appeared with some regularity over the past 10 to 15 years. The various estimates can be characterized as either speculative or analytic. In general, the speculative estimates have been substantially larger than the analytic estimates. Furthermore, the speculative estimates have received much greater attention in the press and in political debates.

Speculative Estimates. Major speculative estimates of undocumented aliens include those of: Chapman for 1976 -- 4 to 12 million; Lesko Associates for 1975 -- 8.2 million; and Corwin for 1981 -- 8 to 10 million. Speculative estimates of annual increase in the undocumented population have also appeared.

Major ones include: Chapman in 1976 -- 500,000 per year; and Reubens for 1978 -- 600,000. None of these estimates specifies clearly whether the estimate includes settlers only, or sojourners, or commuters.

The speculative estimates are not well-grounded in the available data; indeed, that is what makes them speculative. Nor do they square very well with the analytic estimates. To the extent that the speculative estimates are based on any data, they generally make reference to the number of apprehensions made by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). INS apprehensions along the U.S.-Mexican border reached 500,000 a year in the early 1970s, exceeded 1 million by 1978, and have remained around 1 million per year since then. Clearly, many factors affect the level of apprehensions, including enforcement patterns, flow of aliens, and INS staffing levels. However, the pattern of apprehensions does not necessarily imply that the undocumented population is as large as the speculative estimates suggest, nor does it mean that the population is growing as fast as suggested. In fact, data from apprehensions strongly indicate otherwise.

Apprehensions in the Chula Vista sector of California make up about one-third of the apprehensions along the U.S.-Mexican border, reaching about 420,000 apprehensions in fiscal year 1983. About 5,000 of the apprehensions, or less than 2 percent, were from countries other than Mexico. Of the apprehensions of Mexicans, more than 7 persons in 8 were adult males. Less than 1 in 8 of the apprehensions involved an adult Mexican woman or a child. If the apprehensions from Mexico represented settlers, the composition would be considerably different, i.e. it would include more families. The vast majority of apprehensions along the Mexican border therefore appear to be sojourners

or commuters. The apprehensions appear to be from what one writer has called "the floating pool of labor" which moves back and forth across the U.S.-Mexican border in response to economic conditions. Thus, the apprehensions data are not adequate for estimating the number of the undocumented alien settlers or even as an indicator of the overall flow.

Analytic Estimates. Analysts attempting to estimate the size and growth of the undocumented alien population have been plagued by a lack of data on what, by its very nature, is a hard-to-measure population. During the early and middle 1970s, several demographers met with limited success as they applied ingenious methods to data collected for other purposes in attempts to make inferences about the size of this difficult-to-measure population. Most of the estimates made at that time were limited by a lack of data on critical parameters in the estimation models.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, more data became available to measure the size of the undocumented population. The analytic estimates produced then were much smaller than any of the speculative estimates and also smaller than the previous analytic work. A consensus appeared to be emerging that the number of undocumented settlers from Mexico amounted to no more than 1.5 to 2.5 million persons. At the core of this consensus was research done at the Census Bureau using results from the 1980 census.

Robert Warren, now with the INS but then at the Census Bureau, and I produced estimates of the number of undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census. We derived the estimates by comparing two sets of data -- (1) an estimate of the total number of aliens included in the 1980 census and (2) an estimate o°

the total number of aliens residing in the country legally, derived primarily from INS data. The difference between the two data sets was assumed to represent undocumented aliens included in the 1980 census.

Both sets of data required a number of modifications and adjustments designed to correct for known deficiencies in the data. The major adjustments involved correcting the census data for misreporting of citizenship and adjusting the INS Alien Registration data for underregistration. The details of the estimation process are spelled out in two papers, "A Count of the Uncountable: Estimates of Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 United States Census" by Robert Warren and Jeffrey S. Passel and "Geographic Distribution of Undocumented Immigrants: Estimates of Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 Census by State" by Passel and Karen A. Woodrow.

Before I discuss these estimates, there are several points I would like to make. First, these are estimates and so are subject to error. However, they do give a very good picture of the characteristics and distribution of undocumented aliens in general. The estimates are made up primarily of settlers, but they may include some sojourners. They do not represent either commuters or the bulk of the sojourner population. Next, the estimates represent only those undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census, not the total number. (I will address later the question of how many undocumented aliens were not counted in the 1980 census.) Finally, it must be stressed again that this research did not compromise the confidentiality of U.S. census data that is required by law. No attempt was made to determine the legal status of any individual aliens; in fact, it is not possible to do so. The estimates were developed by comparing statistical aggregates, not by determining the legal status of individuals.

Numbers and Characteristics of Undocumented Aliens. Comparison of the independently-derived estimates of the legally resident alien population on April 1, 1980 with the 1980 census count shows that 2,057,000 undocumented aliens were included in the 1980 census. Of these, 55 percent or 1,131,000 were born in Mexico. Most of the undocumented immigrants -- 1,517,000 or 74 percent -- entered the United States during the 1970s with 46 percent or 941,000 entering during the 5 years prior to the 1980 census. (See Figure 1.) The undocumented aliens from Mexico are more concentrated in the later periods of entry with 49 percent entering during 1975-1980 and a total of 80 percent during the 1970s.

No single country other than Mexico appears to contribute a substantial proportion of the undocumented alien population. Rather, undocumented immigrants come from all countries that contribute legal immigrants to the United States. Mexico accoÔnts for roughly 55 percent of the undocumented aliens included in the 1980 census. (See Figure 2.) Latin America, including Mexico, and the rest of the Caribbean represent 1,582,000 or 77 percent of the total undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census. The remainder of the world -- Europe, Canada, Asia, Africa, and Oceania -- contributed 474,000 or 23 percent of the undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census. A substantial proportion of the undocumented aliens from Europe and Asia, 35 percent or 128,000 persons, have been in the United States since before 1970. By way of comparison, only 20 percent of the undocumented aliens from Mexico have been in the country as long.

Five countries of the 40 countries and groups of countries for which we made estimates had approximately as many or more undocumented aliens than legal residents -- Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, and Iran. For the Mexican-born

population in the 1980 census, the number of undocumented aliens who entered in the 1975-1980 period (559,000) was nearly double the number of legal residents who entered during the same period. Excluding the 5 countries listed above, legally resident aliens far outnumbered undocumented aliens.

The age-sex structure of the undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census reinforces the description of this population as a group of young, recently arrived immigrants consisting primarily of settlers. Of the total number of undocumented aliens counted in the census, 1,094,000 or 53 percent are male. (See Figure 3.) For the Mexican-born undocumented aliens counted, 620,000 or 55 percent are male. The undocumented aliens included in the 1980 census are highly concentrated in the young adult working ages -- 70 percent are aged 15 to 39 years. (See Figure 4.) Overall, 18 percent are under age 15 and only 11 percent were aged 40 and over. The undocumented population from Mexico in the 1980 census is even younger and more concentrated in the young working ages than the total undocumented population. Almost 21 percent of the undocumented Mexicans were under age 15; 70 percent were aged 15 to 39 years, and only 9 percent were over age 40.

Geographic Distribution of Undocumented Aliens. Undocumented aliens are not distributed uniformly across the country. They tend to live in states with large legal alien populations and especially large Latin American populations. (See Figure 5.) California alone has 1,024,000 or almost exactly half of the undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census. The 4 states with the next largest undocumented populations -- New York, Texas, Illinois, and Florida -- include just over 30 percent of the group, giving the 5 largest states over 80 percent of the undocumented aliens. Other areas of concentration include the national capital area, other southwestern states, and the Pacific northwest.

The concentration of undocumented aliens in metropolitan areas is just as great as in states. We estimate that one SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area), indeed one county -- Los Angeles County -- has 658,000 undocumented aliens in the 1980 census or almost one-third of all those in the country. The total for Los Angeles includes 500,000 undocumented Mexicans or 44 percent of all undocumented Mexicans in the 1980 census. Only 2 other SMSAs had over 100,000 undocumented aliens in the 1980 census: New York City with 212,000 and Chicago with 127,000. These 3 areas together account for almost half of the undocumented aliens in the country. (See Figure 6.)

Our estimates show that the 13 areas with more than 25,000 undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census have about three-quarters of the U.S. total. This group includes 6 SMSAs in California (Los Angeles, Anaheim, San Francisco, San Diego, Riverside, and San Jose), 3 areas in Texas (Houston, Dallas-Fort Worth, and the non-metropolitan portion of the state), and the New York City, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Miami SMSAs. All of these areas are "known" to have large undocumented alien populations. Noticeably absent from this list are the border cities of Texas. These areas do not have large numbers of undocumented settlers, but probably have large numbers of undocumented sojourners and commuters. Clearly, not all areas with undocumented aliens in their labor force have them in their resident population.

Coverage of Undocumented Aliens in the Census. The major unanswered question concerning the estimates of undocumented aliens included in the 1980 census is "What proportion of the total undocumented population do the estimates represent?" Although the proportion of undocumented aliens included in the census is not known exactly, there is some indirect evidence which suggests that a substantial

portion of the undocumented population was counted. As I have discussed, the estimates of undocumented alien population in the 1980 census include a very large proportion of women and children -- these groups are usually counted well in the census. Furthermore, over one-fourth of the undocumented aliens counted in the census had lived here for 10 years or more. They are very likely to be well established in the United States, and therefore, should not have extraordinarily high undercount rates.

There are other indications that the 1980 census probably included large proportions of the population of undocumented settlers. Major efforts were made in 1980 to reduce the undercount of difficult-to-enumerate groups. The success of these efforts is apparent from our generally low estimates of census undercount. Our various studies of undercoverage of legal residents, both native-born and foreign-born, have found undercount rates in a range from a 1 percent overcount to a 2 percent undercount. Furthermore, coverage of undocumented aliens must have been relatively high since the available evidence indicates that the 1980 census missed very few housing units -- and undocumented aliens, especially the settlers, have to live somewhere. Finally, some undocumented aliens may have perceived that being counted in the census would be in their own best interest by providing proof of residence in the United States in case of future legalization programs.

Some analysts have speculated that the 1980 census included one-half to two-thirds of the undocumented aliens. Our own research supports these speculations. A study, in which I participated, using data from the 1980 census of Mexico shows that there could not have been as many as 3 million undocumented Mexicans in the United States in 1980 as settlers or "long-term sojourners" and, furthermore,

that there were probably fewer than 2 million in the United States. If these various studies and speculations are correct, then the number of undocumented settlers in the United States in 1980 was very likely to fall in a range of 2.5 to 3.5 million. (I should emphasize that these results are certainly not definitive, but rather are strongly suggested by the available data. The NAS Panel's speculation is consistent with this estimate.)

Growth of the Undocumented Alien Population

The difficulties of measuring the size of the undocumented alien population are compounded at least twice over in measuring the growth of the undocumented population. In order to know how fast the population is growing, it is necessary to know the size of the population at two points in time. For obvious reasons, this has proved to be very difficult to do for the undocumented alien population.

We are conducting research to try to measure growth of the undocumented alien population. The April 1983 Current Population Survey (CPS) included questions on country of birth, citizenship, year of immigration, and country of birth of parents for all persons aged 14 years and over. With these data, it is possible to measure the size of the foreign-born population in the CPS in April 1983. Comparing this survey estimate with an estimate of the legally resident foreign-born population of April 1983, developed from our 1980 estimate, gives a measure of undocumented aliens in the April 1983 CPS.

According to this research, the April 1983 CPS included about 2 million undocumented aliens aged 14 years and over. These estimates are not as precise as the ones for the 1980 census which I mentioned earlier. First, the CPS figures are subject to much more sampling variability than the census figures. Second, the estimates of the legally resident alien population for 1983 are

subject to greater error. For example, alternative figures for emigration of the legally resident foreign-born population for 1980-1983 would give results which differ by perhaps 100,000 to 200,000.

To convert the population estimate into a measure of growth, it is necessary to choose a baseline estimate of undocumented aliens for comparison. If we choose the 1980 census estimates, they show an average annual growth in the undocumented population of about 120,000. (Note that if we make the reasonable assumption that the 1980 census had better coverage than the April 1983 CPS, then the estimate of growth between 1980 and 1983 would be understated.) If we choose the November 1979 CPS as the baseline, the estimates show annual growth of about 290,000. Regardless of which baseline is chosen, the available data suggest that the undocumented alien population is growing and that the apparent annual growth falls in a range of 100,000 to 300,000. These figures are substantially smaller than the most commonly cited speculative estimates of growth of 500,000 per year or even more.

Implications of the Estimates

The available analytic studies of the undocumented alien population suggest that this population is significantly smaller than the conjectural estimates which have received wide publicity. Research by the Census Bureau and other analysts points very strongly to a range of 2 to 4 million undocumented alien settlers in the United States in 1980; in fact, this lower limit may be somewhat too low and the upper limit, somewhat too high. In addition, the post-1980 data suggest that the undocumented population is growing, but again the rate of growth is significantly lower than popular reports would suggest.

There is no doubt that many thousands, possibly many hundreds of thousands of persons are attempting to enter the United States illegally. There is no doubt that many are succeeding. To verify these statements, one only has to examine the border apprehension statistics of the INS. These data show that almost 1 million or more apprehensions of undocumented aliens have occurred at the U.S.-Mexican border every year for a number of years. However, these data do not imply that the population of undocumented aliens in the United States is growing explosively.

Two factors explain what seems at first glance to be an anomalous situation -- very large immigration, but relatively slow population growth. The first factor is out-migration. Rates of return migration for undocumented settlers that are only slightly higher than rates of emigration for legal immigrants would serve to slow the rate of growth of the undocumented population. A second explanatory factor is that the apprehensions do not represent settlers; that is, the bulk of the apprehensions are sojourners and commuters. This is very clearly what is happening at the U.S.-Mexican border since the vast majority (7 out of 8) of the apprehensions are of adult Mexican males. In other words, the number of undocumented persons who are actually in the United States at a given moment and the number who have ever been in the country are much larger than the number of undocumented <u>settlers</u> in the United States. If policymakers wish to address the effects of undocumented <u>workers</u>, then estimates of sojourner and commuter populations are critical. The Census Bureau's efforts have not been focused on measuring these groups.

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Conclusion

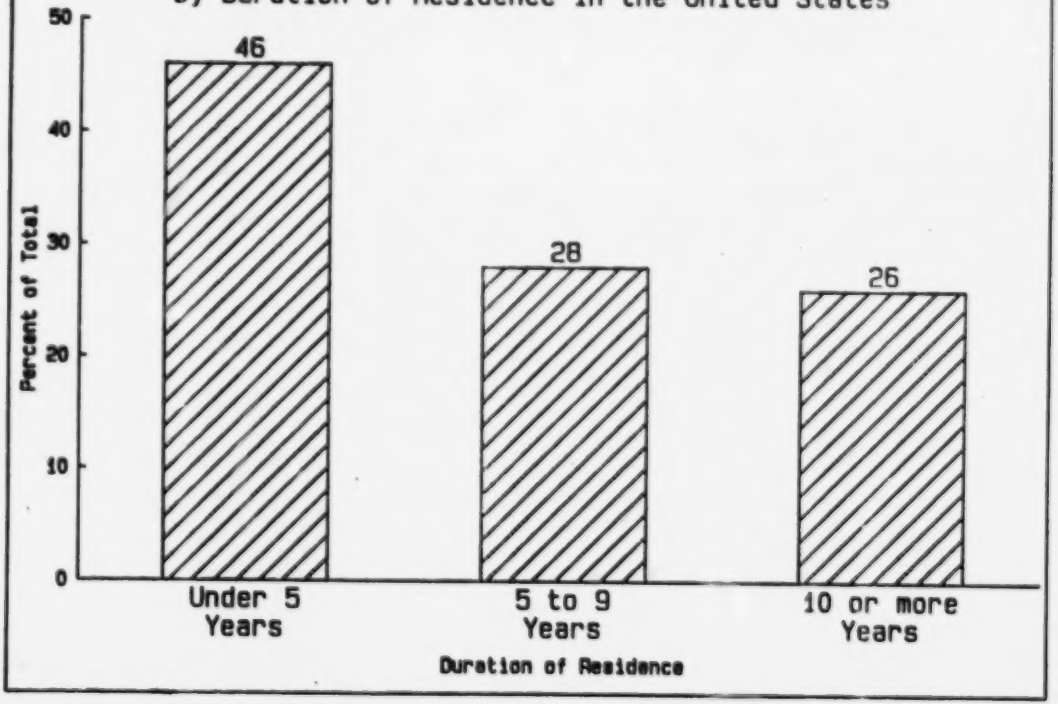
I would like to reiterate my compliments to the NAS Panel on Immigration Statistics and its staff for a very thorough and thoughtful job. There is no doubt that there is considerable room to improve statistics on immigration. As the Panel suggested, the Census Bureau is proceeding in several areas to do just that.

The Census Bureau included questions about the foreign-born population in the April 1983 Current Population Survey. This supplement provided data that we could use to produce estimates of growth in the undocumented alien population. We are planning to include similar questions in the June 1986 Current Population Survey. Collection of this type of data through the CPS is extremely useful in measuring change in the foreign-born population. In addition, the Census Bureau is continuing specific research suggested by the Panel as well as pursuing other avenues of research in the areas of measuring emigration and undocumented immigration.

In closing, let me add that although the estimates of the undocumented alien population put forward by the NAS Panel and those I have put forward today are much smaller than many figures quoted in the press; 2 to 4 million persons is not a small number. Furthermore, the growth in this population suggested by our studies is "small" only in relation to the numbers being thrown around by people who inflate apprehensions data by so-called "got-away ratios." In conventional demographic terms, the rates of growth suggested by our CPS studies would be considered rapid. Finally, it is extremely important to be aware of the distinctions between settlers, sojourners, and commuters in assessing the size and implications of the undocumented population.

Figure 1

Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 Census, by Duration of Residence in the United States



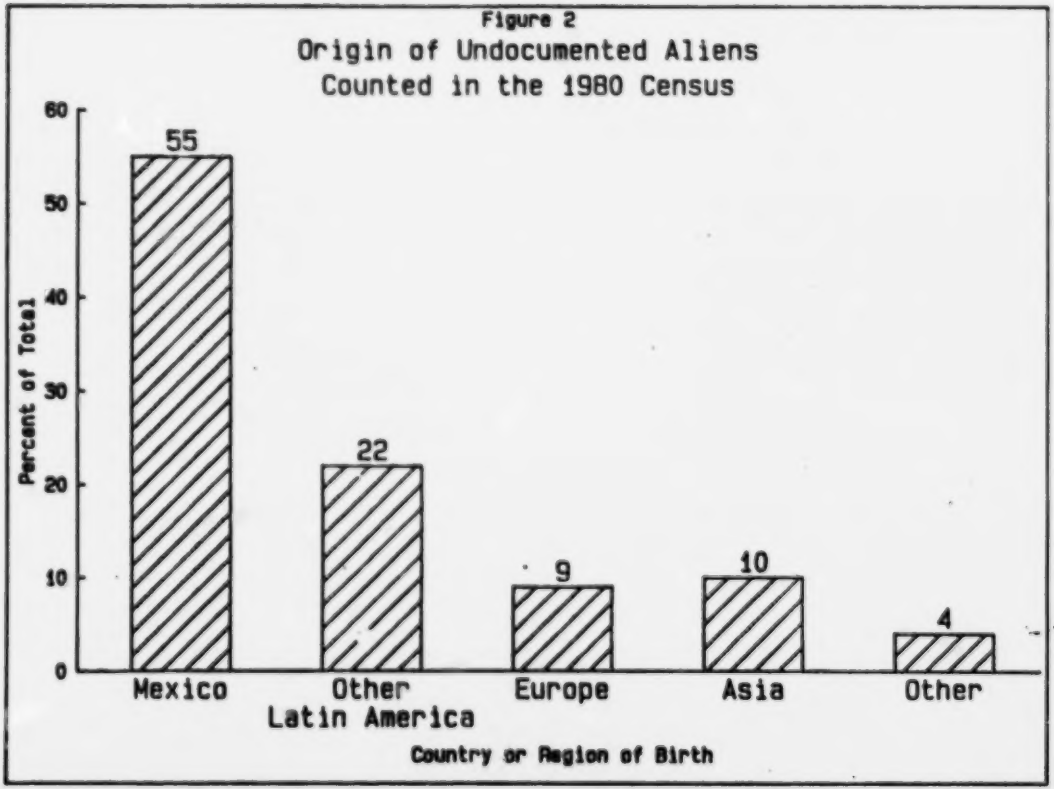


Figure 2
Origin of Undocumented Aliens
Counted in the 1980 Census
Percent of Total
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
55
22
9
10
4
Mexico
Other Latin America
Europe
Asia
Other
Country or Region of Birth

Figure 3

Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 Census, by Sex and Country of Birth

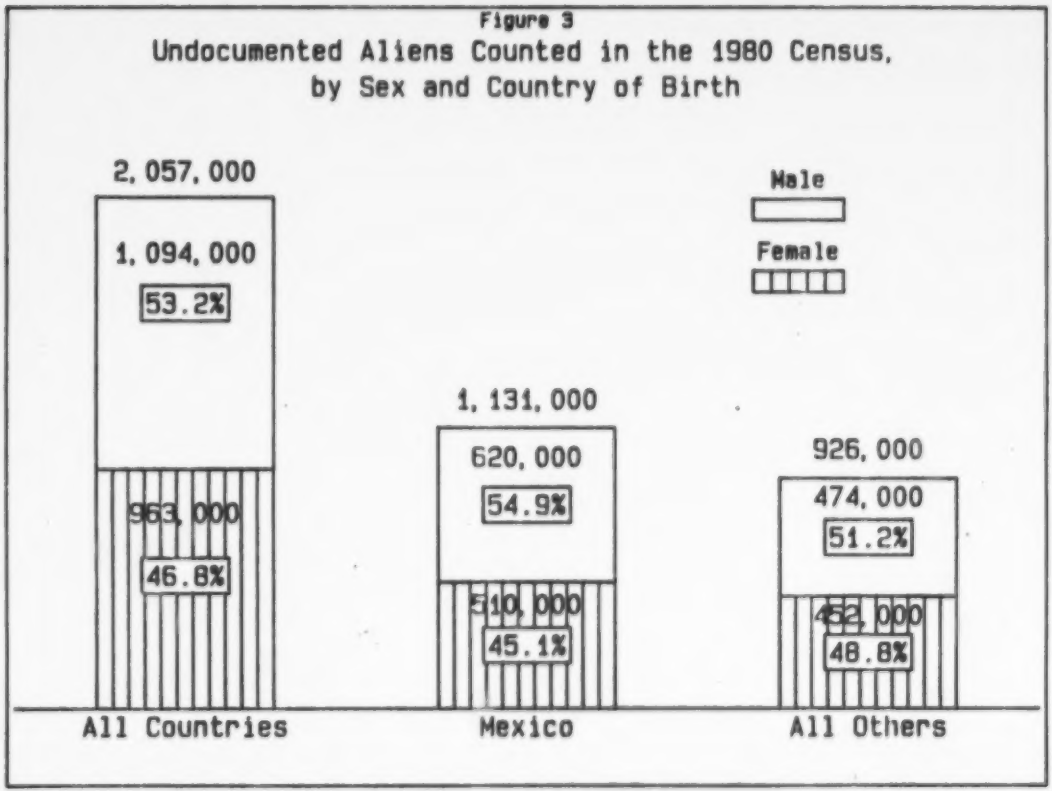


Figure 4

Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 Census, by Age

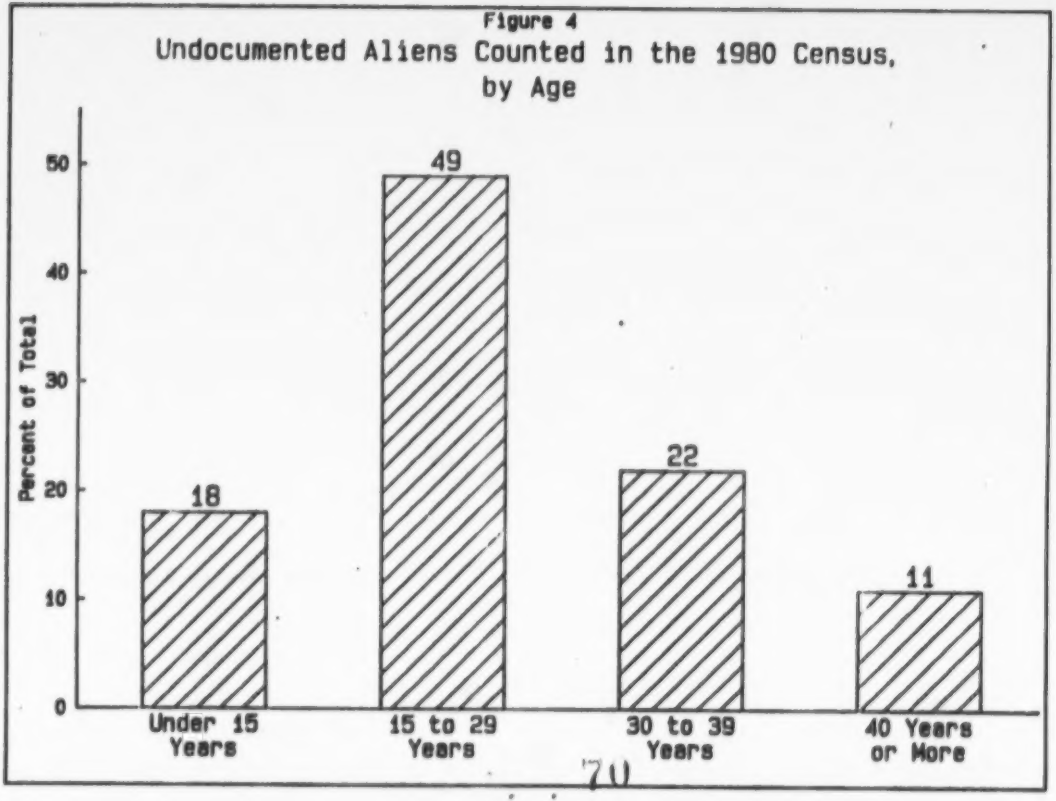


Figure 5

Estimates of Undocumented Aliens
Counted in the 1980 Census for States

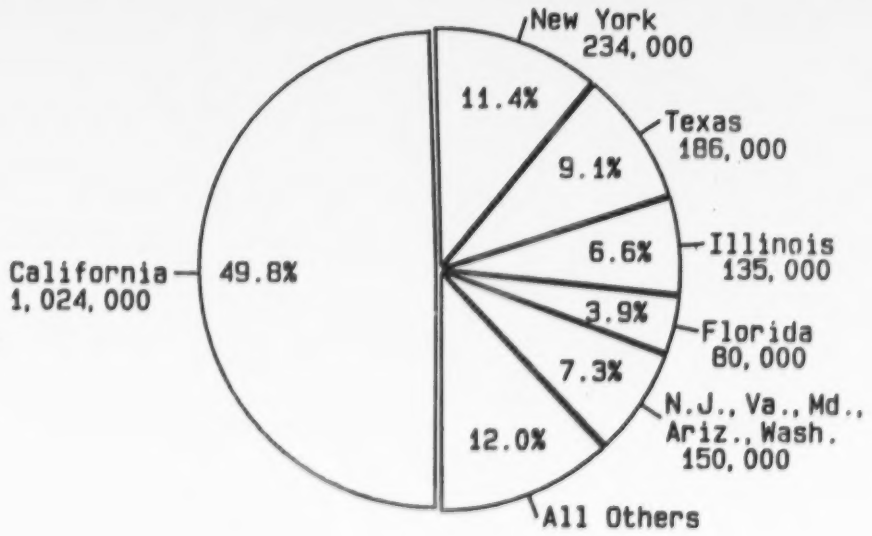
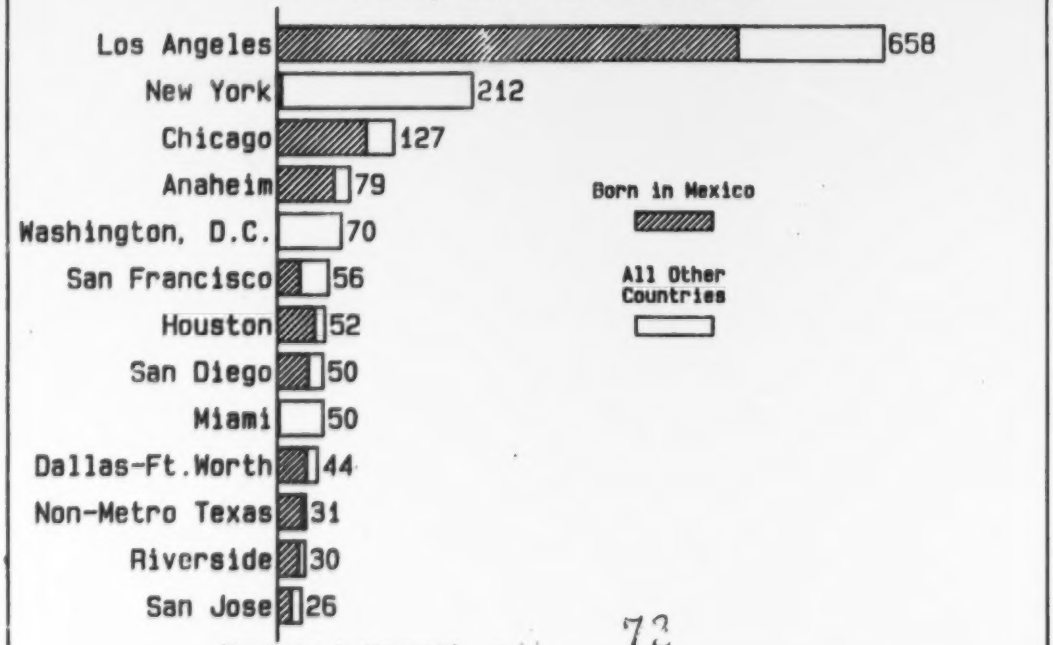


Figure 6

Estimates of Undocumented Aliens in the 1980 Census for Metropolitan Areas (SMSAs)



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Responses to Questions
from
Subcommittee on Census and Population
to
Jeffrey S. Passel
U.S. Bureau of the Census
at
Hearing on Immigration Statistics
October 10, 1985

Question 1:

What are we going to do about the collection of immigration statistics? How do we get unbiased, impartial numbers? Is it possible for INS to be impartial, as impartial as the Census Bureau in the collection of these statistics?

Response:

There are three major pieces of information that are needed to determine the effect of immigration on the size of the U.S. population — the number of people immigrating legally, the number of legal residents moving out of the country, and the growth of the undocumented alien population. For other studies of immigration, there are many other useful items of information, for example, the labor force characteristics of the immigrants, their levels of education, mode of entry to the United States, and so forth. However, the legal entrants, legal exits, and net growth of the undocumented population are the essential items for determining the size of the population.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has the legal responsibility for admitting persons into the United States, as permanent resident aliens or in various nonimmigrant statuses. The Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) in the Department of Health and Human Services has the legal responsibility for processing refugees upon their entry to this country. In order to fulfill these legal responsibilities, these agencies must count the number of persons they admit and collect a great deal of social, demographic, and economic data from the immigrants and refugees. The Census Bureau uses the information collected by INS and ORR to measure legal immigration to the United States. The Census Bureau has no better methods for collecting information on legal admissions to the United States than the ones used by these agencies. Any activity by the Census Bureau in this area would merely duplicate data collected for administrative purposes as a natural part of the agencies' intake activities. The major problems with the data collected by INS and ORR have to do with timeliness, relevance for demographic research, and accessibility, not with partiality on the part of the collecting agencies.

In the area of emigration by legal residents, the INS stopped collecting these data in 1957 largely because the data were felt to be highly inaccurate. Since that time, the Census Bureau has been attempting to estimate the magnitude of legal emigration. We are still pursuing research to improve our estimates.

Undocumented immigration, by its very nature, does not lend itself readily to accurate measurement. Data collection by INS in this area is largely limited to counting the number of apprehensions of undocumented aliens. The INS needs these figures for workload and performance measurement. The same figures do not, however, provide useful measures of the increase (or decrease) in the undocumented alien population. Attempts to use apprehensions data as a measure of the growth of this population have invariably led to exaggerated estimates.

Over the last several years, the Census Bureau has been at the forefront of activities relating to the measurement of the undocumented alien population because of our need for these figures in our population estimates program. The Census Bureau's reputation for providing impartial estimates of population characteristics has undoubtedly been partially responsible for the acceptance of the Census Bureau's estimates. Recently quoted INS estimates of immigration (both legal and undocumented) are within the range suggested by Census Bureau research.

Question 2:

As you may be aware, the Department of Justice has a definite opinion on the immigration legislation pending before Congress. Census does not. Wouldn't it be, therefore, more suitable to have Census collect this data so as to insure its objectivity?

Response:

Data for individuals legally entering the country, such as immigrants and refugees, are best collected through administrative record systems. Much of the information that could be used for demographic and policy analysis is also needed by the agency responsible for processing the admission application. Separate collection of the same data by a statistical agency would, therefore be a duplication of effort and reporting burden.

The Census Bureau is currently the primary agency attempting to measure the other two important immigrant flows -- emigration of legal immigrants and net undocumented immigration. To measure these flows, we have relied on some administrative data collected by INS and found them to be very useful. Measurement of these flows is considerably less exact than measurement of legal admissions. We are engaged in several research activities to improve our estimates of legal emigration and undocumented immigration.

Question 3:

(No Question 3 submitted.)

Question 4:

Are you aware of the kind of statistics INS keeps on the net migration of persons from this country? What are they?

Response:

In its most recent Statistical Yearbook, INS did not publish any statistics relating to emigration from the United States. The INS does have some information on permanent resident aliens who leave the country from the I-94 forms it collects. These data do not, however, measure emigration directly because many of the departing aliens return to the United States. Their departures include vacations, family visits, business trips, and the like, as well as emigration. The problem of separating permanent from temporary departures led to the cessation of the data series on emigrants in 1957.

The other INS data series related to emigration was "Aliens and Citizens Admitted and Departed." This series has not been published in recent years. It did not provide a measure of emigration, even when it was published, because it did not cover all departures or arrivals.

Question 5:

What impact does this figure, the number of persons leaving our country each year, have on keeping correct numbers on the net number of immigrants coming to the U.S. each year?

Response:

The Census Bureau has developed estimates of emigration from the United States for the 1970-1980 and 1960-1970 decades. During the period between the 1970 census and the 1980 census, about 4.4 million aliens were admitted to the United States (3.9 aliens admitted for permanent residence and 450,000 refugees). During the same period, about 1.3 million persons emigrated. Thus, the net flow of immigrants during the 1970s was about 3.1 million persons, or roughly 70 percent of the inflow.

For the 1960s, the situation was very similar. About 3.5 million aliens were admitted legally, but about 1.1 million persons emigrated. The net flow between the 1960 census and the 1970 census was 2.4 million, or almost 70 percent of the inflow. We have not been able to develop an accurate measure of emigration for the 1980s, because the data system we used to produce the estimates -- the INS Alien Registration Data -- has not existed since 1981. Consequently, we have not been able to assess the effect of emigration on net legal immigration for the most recent decade. We are, however, continuing our research on ways of measuring emigration.

Question 6:

Would the Census Bureau be a better place to collect immigration statistics? If Census had that responsibility, would it be more able, to quote Mr. Nahan, "turn the story reported (on immigration statistics) from one of 'neglect' into one of success"?

Response:

The Census Bureau's demographic programs include the decennial census, surveys, a population estimates program, and secondary analysis of data collected by the Census Bureau and others. Immigration statistics are best collected by a system of registration where persons who apply for admission deal directly with the "gate keepers" who process them and count them at the same time. If the Census Bureau were to move into the area of collecting statistics on immigrants admitted, it would require a data collection system that would duplicate INS data collection that is needed to process admissions.

The Census Bureau's expertise in data collection is best used to collect data on the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of immigrants after their admission to the United States. Such data could be collected with sample surveys designed specifically to focus on the immigrant population and their adaptation to the United States. At present, no such surveys are being conducted regularly.

The Census Bureau's demographic analysis would also be useful in attempting to estimate the numbers of emigrants and undocumented aliens. The INS could supply data essential for the estimation process, but the Census Bureau has the expertise in the area of demographic estimation. The INS would still be the best source of admission statistics for legal immigrants.

Question 7:

How good are the figures on the number of undocumented persons in this country? Can those numbers be used for the purposes of apportionment?

Response:

In the decennial census, the Census Bureau attempts to count all residents of the United States. These counts are used to apportion Congress. In conducting the census, we do not attempt to make a separate count of undocumented aliens or to distinguish among individuals on the basis of the legal status.

For analytic purposes, the Census Bureau has developed estimates of the number of undocumented aliens included in the 1980 census. This research found that slightly over 2 million undocumented aliens were included in the 1980 census. The figures for undocumented aliens in the 1980 census are estimates and, as such, subject to some limitations. In the paper that first presented the estimates and the underlying methodology, "A Count of the Uncountable: Estimates of Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 Census" by Robert Warren and Jeff Passel, the authors discuss in detail some of the potential errors in the estimates. They concluded that the number of

undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census was probably between 2.0 and 2.3 million. Even though these estimates are subject to limitations, they have proved quite useful for many purposes.

For apportionment purposes, it is necessary to have accurate figures for the population of each state. If Congressional apportionment were to be based solely on legal residents rather than the total population, it would be necessary to have either an accurate count of the number of undocumented aliens separately or an accurate estimate of how many undocumented aliens were counted in the census. Using similar techniques to those used for the national estimates, we have developed estimates of the number of undocumented aliens included in the 1980 census for each state. Although the estimates at the state level have also been useful for analytic purposes, we do not believe they are of sufficient quality to be used for Congressional apportionment because of inherent limitations in the methodology used to develop the estimates.

Question 8:

With regard to the paper you wrote on the number of undocumented persons in the U.S., we understand that you broke down the national figure state by state. Are the numbers accurate enough to be able to remove for apportionment purposes, the numbers of undocumented persons on a state by state case?

Response:

The national estimates of undocumented aliens have been broken down for states. The results of this research were published in the paper, "Geographic Distribution of Undocumented Immigrants: Estimates of Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 Census by State," by Jeffrey S. Passel and Karen A. Woodrow in the International Migration Review, Volume 18, No. 3 (Winter 1984), pp. 642-671. This research has provided a great deal of useful information on the geographic distribution of undocumented immigrants and their characteristics.

The state-level estimates of undocumented aliens in the 1980 census have a number of features that limit their utility for apportionment purposes. Dr. John Keane, Director of the Census Bureau, discussed some of these features in his testimony of September 18, 1985 before Senator Cochran's Subcommittee on Energy, Nuclear Proliferation, and Government Processes. The estimates for states must be viewed as approximations, even more so than the national estimates, because variation among states in some of the estimation factors could not be taken into account directly. Shifts of only a few thousand undocumented aliens in the estimates for a few states could shift several Congressional seats.

There are a number of other features of the method for estimating the number of undocumented aliens counted in the census that limit its utility for apportionment purposes. First, the estimates are based on sample data rather than data collected on a 100-percent basis. Also, the estimates of undocumented aliens included in the 1980 census for each state were not completed until 1984, nearly 3 years after the date required for apportionment. Even

more important for 1990, however, the data set that enabled us to produce subnational estimates -- the INS Alien Registration Data -- no longer exists; the program was canceled after 1981. Thus, we no longer have a methodology that would enable us to produce estimates of undocumented aliens counted in the 1990 census for states.

Question 9:

Could the Census Bureau develop a formula that is accurate enough?

Response:

For several years, the Census Bureau has been conducting research on measuring the undocumented alien population, in general, as well as those undocumented aliens included in the decennial census. Although we have met with some success, we have not been able to develop a formula for measuring undocumented aliens in the census that is both accurate and timely enough to be used for apportionment. As I mentioned earlier, the situation for 1990 is even more problematic. The primary data source used to develop estimates of undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census by state no longer exists. Furthermore, even if this data source (the INS Alien Registration data) were to be reinstated for 1990, we would have to make some major assumptions to produce estimates. These assumptions, such as the assumption of no state-to-state variability in completeness of the Alien Registration Data, would greatly limit the utility of any estimates for apportionment purposes.

Question 10:

Would it then be possible to implement a bill such as Senator Cochran's; at least from a statistical point of view?

Response:

To implement a bill, such as Senator Cochran's, to exclude undocumented aliens from the census counts used for apportionment would require either an estimate of the number of undocumented aliens included in the census counts or a separate count of undocumented aliens. Neither approach is likely to meet with much success and either one would raise a number of technical and practical considerations in taking the 1990 census. Dr. Keane also addressed some of these issues in his testimony of September 18, 1985.

Were we to attempt to develop estimates (rather than counts) of the undocumented alien population of each state using a methodology similar to that used in 1980, the estimates would have serious limitations for apportionment purposes. The apportionment formula requires data of acceptable quality for all states, not just the few with large undocumented populations. Even if data were to become available for producing the estimates, the limitations discussed in response to Questions 8 and 9 would lead us to conclude that the estimates should not be used for apportionment purposes.

If the Census Bureau were to attempt to count undocumented aliens separately in 1990, we would need to ask every person in the country a question on citizenship and then determine the legal status of each one. The Census Bureau has neither the authority nor the expertise required to do so. Furthermore, were the Census Bureau to be perceived as an enforcement agency, it could have a major detrimental effect on overall census coverage.

Mr. GARCIA. Thank you very much, Doctor. There are a number of questions I guess we have to ask but just let me start off by asking Mr. Nahan a question; you heard Mr. Levine's comments on the inefficiencies of the INS. How would you respond to that?

Mr. NAHAN. I don't think there's any secret to this. We've had a number of problems over the years, and they have been brought out in various press reports in the past; an example would be the Iranian student problem.

I would emphasize that we believe we are making major progress in the area of introducing major automation systems. into the agency. A number of press reports have noted how we didn't have those capabilities in the past. As I alluded to in my opening remarks, we really believe that we have placed a great deal more emphasis on statistics than we had in the past. Since we did work very closely with the National Academy, and since we were the inspiration and funding behind it, we were able to anticipate a lot of their recommendations and we have already implemented a number of them—within, again, the limitations of our current resources.

I do really believe that while these kinds of things take time in a bureaucratic environment that the greater immigration statistics community within the executive branch is working in concert today. We are also, as a first, participating in the funding of the next current population survey in fiscal year 1986.

Mr. GARCIA. Do you agree with what he said? Are you satisfied, Dan?

Mr. LEVINE. I don't want to get into——

Mr. GARCIA. Just let me say this: I really think it's important that we have an honest exchange. Because what we have heard over the past few years on the number of immigrants are estimates and guesstimates. Now, we have three people here who are the experts who can help us—and I have a great deal of faith in the three of you—I, therefore, think it's important that we have honest dialog. Constructive criticism is the only way we are going to be able to accomplish anything.

Mr. LEVINE. I think the INS does deserve a good deal of credit for beginning to move in the right direction. I would note that the new acting head of the statistics branch, Bob Warren, is technically very competent, and, incidentally participated in our study as a staff member. I think, certainly, he deserves the support and opportunity to demonstrate what can be done.

But I think it is also important to note, even though not a lot of time has passed, that there is a great deal more that can be done within existing budget. The panel was quite aware of the existing budget climate and very carefully pointed out that it did not recommend just throwing money at the wall. For example, it seems to me that the statistical group, even though it may now be one which is receiving a lot more attention top-wise, has to be given a good deal more authority. That's a large agency—and as we point out, a great deal of its data is collected through an administrative process where people out in various offices and in ports get certain information. We found a great deal of misunderstanding, a great deal of confusion as to what some of the entries were supposed to

be; high non-response rates; and little or no consistency in the way the rules were applied.

It seems that there is within the existing structure the ability to assign responsibility for moving in the direction of expanding statistical controls within even the existing system without additional cost.

I am delighted that the agency is beginning to fund some research, but I think the agency also needs some advice and help from some statistical advisory groups—it could use that type of help. It needs to allocate some limited funding to expand its thinking in terms of the types of research that it does.

You collect data in a variety of different ways. One is through administrative records. Another is to go out and try to deal with specific questions such as: To what extent are Americans being displaced by immigrants or illegals? To what extent are immigrants using up social services? This is research that should be funded, it seems to me, through INS. It is not that they should conduct the research, but they should be the initiating point.

I think also that the branch requires a permanent head, and Bob Warren, at the moment, is only an acting chief. I would point out that they have not had a permanent head of a statistics unit for a long, long time.

Mr. GARCIA. Are they political appointees?

Mr. LEVINE. No, no, I don't think so.

Mr. GARCIA. Professionals?

Mr. LEVINE. That's a professional appointment. The Branch has not had a permanent head for a long time. Their budget stands at about 1.3 million for about 30-some people, of whom maybe five to nine are professionals. I would point out, as we did in the report, that an equivalent agency such as IRS has a statistical group that has probably five times that budget. Their budget hasn't grown one iota in the last number of years. And 1.3 million for an agency of this size to collect statistics that are of such fundamental importance to Congress, to the agency itself, to the Executive, to the legislative, just strike me as being head-in-the-sand, business-as-usual.

Mr. GARCIA. The last time you and I spoke, Dr. Passel, you also mentioned that there was an outflow of immigrants. We had estimated how many are coming in, but there is also a heavy flow of people going back to their respective countries.

Do you remember that conversation?

Mr. PASSEL. Yes.

Mr. GARCIA. Can you repeat it?

Mr. PASSEL. As you say, emigration is a phenomenon that is very difficult to measure. The people that you would like to contact, and the people that you want to know how many there are, are not in the country anymore. So it is a very difficult measurement problem.

We had been able to develop indirect measures of emigration for the 1960's and the 1970's. Our data show that for the 1960's, about a million people moved out of the country. For the 1970's, about 1.3 million former immigrants, foreign-born persons, left the country. This is a phenomenon that has been going on for a very long time.

There is data available going back to the early part of this century that was collected by INS for most of the first half of the centu-

ry. The data shows that emigration has run about 30 percent of the level of immigration for about 60 or 70 years.

We don't have any more current statistics on it since 1980, but the indications are that the emigration has continued from some indirect sources.

We are hoping to conduct a survey sometime in the next several years where we are going to attempt to measure at least a segment of the emigration by asking people in the country if any of a specified number of relatives have moved out of the country and in that way try to get a handle on part of it.

We are looking at several data systems that may give various pieces, but it's a very difficult phenomenon to measure.

Mr. GARCIA. If the phenomenon is taking in place.

Mr. PASSEL. From everything we can tell, it is taking place.

Mr. GARCIA. And yet, that has not been publicized at all; is that fair?

Mr. PASSEL. It has received very little publicity. The Population Reference Bureau issued a report on emigration in March of this year, co-authored by Robert Warren, whose name keeps coming up, and Professor Ellen Kraly. That report used some of the information from the Census Bureau that we include in our population estimates.

Mr. GARCIA. There was a hearing held by, I understand, Senator Cochran, on this issue over on the Senate side. He is from Mississippi. Dr. Passel, you were quoted very specifically in a FAIR press release, and I would like you to see if you can clarify it:

In testimony before the House Immigration Subcommittee, Census Bureau demographer Jeffrey S. Passel said the Census Bureau "counted the uncountable" by subtracting the number of legal permanent resident—et cetera.

Anyway, it says that the

Census Bureau demographers believe the residual figure of 2.1 million represents the number of illegal aliens who participated in the 1980 Census.

Passel observed that the vast majority of the illegal aliens counted in the 1980 Census were "settlers," not "sojourners" who might work in the United States on only a seasonal or temporary basis." And, It is possible only half of all "settler" illegal aliens actually participated.

Mr. PASSEL. Those are basically the figures that are in my written statement.

Mr. GARCIA. But the key word here is "believe." "Census Bureau demographers believe the residual"—believe, it's not a fact, it's a belief.

Mr. PASSEL. As I mentioned, in my statement today, we did not identify specific individuals as being in the country legally or illegally. The process that we went through is a statistical estimation process, a demographic estimation process, that uses aggregate data. It involves subtracting one set of figures from another. The interpretation we have given these figures is that they represent undocumented aliens who were included in the 1980 census. The figure is about 2.1 million. From all of the analysis that we have done, it does appear that they represent undocumented aliens.

Mr. GARCIA. Let me go on, if I may:

This important distinction was not mentioned in a recent National Academy of Science report on immigration statistics, nor was it publicized in newspaper accounts about the counting of illegal aliens in the 1980 Census.

Why wasn't it mentioned in the National Academy of Science report?

Mr. LEVINE. I believe our review of the various studies producing measures of illegal aliens in the United States, which appears in an appendix to our report, does clearly describe the process, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GARCIA. Did FAIR participate in that conference in any way?

Mr. LEVINE. No, not to my knowledge.

Mr. GARCIA. Were they invited?

Mr. LEVINE. To participate in our panel?

Mr. GARCIA. Yes.

Mr. LEVINE. No.

Mr. GARCIA. Any reason for that?

Mr. LEVINE. We do not generally invite organizational participation. Rather, we attempt to assemble a group comprised of experts in diverse but relevant fields of expertise, which is how we formed the panel for this study.

Mr. GARCIA. They believe that they are experts. They have come out with statements such as this, and they have spent the last few years beating away at this.

Mr. LEVINE. I guess I would only say, Mr. Chairman, that in establishing any panel of 12 to 15 people, you are bound to miss someone who believes that he or she is an expert and whose views should be represented. I would emphasize that our objective was reviewing immigration statistics—not policy. I feel that we tried to be objective and straightforward in our selections and I believe we succeeded in putting together a distinguished panel of experts to examine the statistical issues. That's why we did not include a representative from FAIR, or for that matter, a representative from MALDEF.

Mr. GARCIA. I didn't ask you about MALDEF. [Laughter.]

Stop that, that was brought into this conversation.

Professor, we are delighted that you could make it. Your colleagues have already testified, if you would like to proceed. What you can do is, if you prefer, you can enter your statement for the record and I will accept it as such—you can then summarize or however you want to proceed.

STATEMENT OF ALEJANDRO PORTES, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Mr. PORTES. Fine. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. This testimony will be brief.

I appreciate very much the opportunity to come and discuss with you the state of immigration statistics, an important topic on which the subcommittee has so rightly focused.

I apologize for the delay in coming. The road from Baltimore to Washington is fraught with obstacles.

The report recently issued by the Panel on Immigration Statistics addresses the question of information about who comes to the United States, the reasons why they come, and the consequences for the immigrants themselves and for American society.

Its emphasis is on the gap between the increasing political and economic significance of immigration and the absence of reliable data on which to base timely and effective policies.

Clearly, the most poignant instance of this gap is in the area of undocumented immigration where policy debates rage today without much knowledge of how many undocumented immigrants there really are, how many come every year, and what effects do they have on local communities and labor markets.

Ignorance is not limited to undocumented immigration, however, but extends to other foreign groups including students, temporary visitors, various refugee minorities, and legal immigrants from various nationalities.

I am honored to have been a member of the Panel on Immigration Statistics as I am also of being here today. I support the recommendations of this panel, with one exception, which I would like to mention briefly later on.

The problems addressed by the panel's report could be summarized by saying that the data necessary to reach valid conclusions about various aspects of immigration are either unavailable, incomplete, or of dubious quality. The report places major responsibility for this state of affairs on the Immigration and Naturalization Service and its overall institutional orientation.

Despite the last word in the name of this agency, "Service," which suggests a predisposition to help its clientele and to facilitate knowledge about its condition, the fact is that the INS is not a user-friendly agency. Here, I am not talking about individual members of this agency or the commendable efforts of its understaffed statistical branch. Like other scholars working in this field, I have received the cooperation of many INS offices and personnel and have maintained friendly relations with members of its research staff over the years. My reference is instead to the institutional proclivities of this agency which give it the image of a fairly closed, and at times, hostile organization.

INS is user unfriendly in two ways: Toward its everyday clients and toward the seekers and analysts of immigration data. On the first count, I am not referring to justifiable efforts to detect and apprehend the undocumented, but rather to the treatment meted frequently on those who have a perfect legal right to live in this country or come into it.

I spent last year on research leave at the University of California-San Diego and visited Mexico on several occasions during this time. I can report on the basis of this personal experience that the complaints about the behavior of INS officers at the border, voiced by immigrants and by U.S. citizens alike, are well justified. The greeting that those with a foreign accent or appearance receive at the border is, judging from my experiences in San Ysidro, consistently harsh, when not uncourteous or downright insulting.

Such behavior may be justified by the relentless pressures at the border and the need to screen illegal aliens, but other similar instances are not so easily explained. In the course of a study that other researchers and I are currently conducting on naturalization patterns of legal immigrants, one of the principal reasons why many immigrants avoid or delay naturalization is found to be fear of INS examiners. The complexity of the process and the long

delays are deterrents to naturalization, but in addition, many immigrants voice concern about being unfairly treated or humiliated by Service agents.

A preliminary inquiry into the actual experiences of Latin American immigrants who have naturalized reveals that the behavior of INS examiners is erratic. A few are courteous, fair, and helpful, while others behave like minidespots at the gate, thus fueling the horror stories on the outside. The preliminary evidence available indicates that naturalizations are not a very high priority in many INS regional offices, although the backlog, the percentage of nonapprovals, and delays in completing the process of naturalization vary considerably.

INS is nonfriendly to seekers and analysts of immigration data in four ways: First, the scarcity of its publications; second, the delay with which they appear; third, the absence of strict internal controls on data quality and the consequent unreliability of many results; and, fourth, the selectivity with which existing data tapes have been made available.

The National Academy of Sciences' report dwells at length on the first three aspects. The centerpiece of INS publications, its annual report, is consistently late and, judging by the last one available to me, it is getting worse rather than better. The 1981 annual report contains the following horror story, also noted by our panel:

> Data processing problems have resulted in incomplete information on immigrants admitted in fiscal 1980 and 1981, the loss of all nonimmigrant information for fiscal year 1980, and incomplete nonimmigrant information for 1982.

The cause of this and other failures, the delays in publication, and their generally poor quality, is an institutional orientation which regards the timely assembly and analysis of data as a nonpriority or at best a secondary one. The same orientation seems to underlie the erratic manner in which the Service has granted access to its data.

A few individual researchers have gained access to INS tapes, but the latter have not become generally available or have not been advertised as such. While still preferable to no access at all, this pattern of selective release of information is inappropriate. Instead, INS data tapes should be made available to all researchers working in this field and their availability should be advertised through the appropriate channels.

My single qualification, and here I come to the last point, to the Panel on Immigration Statistics' conclusions pertains to the third recommendation addressed to Congress, that is:

> That a study be initiated and conducted among new immigrants over a 5-year period, in order to develop information for policy guidance on the adjustment experience of families and individuals to the labor market, use of educational and health facilities, et cetera.

The national study is necessary but must be supplemented with in-depth investigations on the situation of individual immigrant groups. Contrary to the common view among policy-makers and social scientists as well, immigration today is not an homogenous process. Immigrants coming to the United States vary widely, not only in their national origins and their socioeconomic backgrounds,

but also in the ways in which they are received and their modes of incorporation into American society. There are immigrants—legal, illegal, and temporary—who come primarily as a low-wage menial labor force; those among them who stay in the United States tend to remain in this condition. Mexicans are today the prime example.

There are immigrants, on the other and, who possess professional, technical, and scientific skills and who fill a demand for high-level manpower in American universities, health centers, and corporations. Immigrants from India, from the Phillippines, from the Argentine, and from Spain are of this kind.

There are also immigrants who bring capital and entrepreneurial skills and join firms already established by their conationals or create their own in fairly prosperous ethnic enclaves. Immigrants from Hong Kong, Singapore, and Korea often fit this mold.

There are finally those who come escaping political or economic oppression in their countries of origin and are greeted in varying manners by the U.S. Government.

Cubans before 1980 and Indochinese refugees since the mid-1970's have been welcomed and have been given generous resettlement assistance. Haitians, on the other hand, have been consistently denied political asylum; and those not deported have been assigned a temporary label as "entrants, status pending," which makes their situation in the United States and their early adaptation efforts most difficult.

I am concerned that a national study, conducted from some central office in a large survey research institution will not be sufficiently sensitive to this enormous diversity and its policy implications. Statistical averages may be computed on the basis of data from groups which lie at opposite ends of the educational, occupational, and economic hierarchies, thus conveying an erroneous impression of the situation of all immigrants. Two or three very large national contingents may easily swamp the overall results.

Mr. Chairman, I have brought with me, along with this testimony, copies of a recent release based on a study that we are currently conducting at Johns Hopkins on the adaptation process of Mariel Cuban refugees and Haitian boat people in south Florida.

Results of our research illustrate this pattern of major differences in the adaptation process of different group and the need to conduct indepth studies of their origins and conditions.

I respectfully request that a copy of this release be included in the record.

Mr. GARCIA. Without objection.

Mr. PORTES. Findings presented therein indicate that after 3 years in the country, unemployment among Mariel refugees was three times the national average, and over five times among Haitian entrants. Twenty-six percent of Mariel refugee households lived in poverty, a figure twice greater than the national average at the time of the survey; fully 61 percent of Haitian households were below the poverty level in that year.

The study also shows that this abysmal situation is not due exclusively or even primarily to the inferior education, occupational skills, or motivations brought by these refugees. On the contrary, on all these counts they are quite comparable to previous cohorts coming from the same countries.

What is different is the social context which received them. Here, we identify three causes: first, the weak social networks—relatives and friends living already in the United States—which Mariel Cubans and Haitian boat people have.

Second, a hostile official reception which denied them political asylum and deprived them of much needed resettlement assistance.

Third, the negative image of these groups created in the community at large by the bad publicity surrounding both flows, but especially the Mariel exodus. The generalized and mostly erroneous view of Mariel Cuban refugees as common criminals and mental health patients succeeded in stigmatizing all new arrivals and rendering their entry into the south Florida labor market and local social circles most problematic.

Until completion of this study, and this is my main point, very little was known about the fate of these two recent refugee groups after a period of several years in the United States. The same lack of knowledge continues to prevail for many other foreign groups—from Filipinos in the west coast to Salvadoreans here in Washington; from Cambodians and Laotians in Los Angeles and Orange County to Colombians and Central Americans in New York. A portrait of contemporary immigration to the United States is long overdue.

My earnest recommendation is that the study proposed by the National Academy's Panel be conducted, but that it include, along with national level data, provisions to investigate the condition of specific immigrant minorities, in particular the most recent and most rapidly growing ones. Only thus will we be able to obtain an accurate portrait of the identity, the motivations, and fate of newcomers to our shores.

Thank you very much.

[The report of Mr. Portes follows:]

Three Years Later:

A Report of the Adaptation Process of 1980 (Mariel) Cuban and Haitian Refugees in South Florida*

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September 1985

*Study conducted with the support of the Sociology Program, National Science Foundation.

The Mariel exodus of 1980 and the simultaneous arrival of large numbers of Haitian boat people represented one of the most significant episodes in modern American immigration history. The image of thousands of ragged refugees arriving in overloaded boats from Mariel and of desperately poor Haitians coming aboard barely seaworthy crafts had a profound impact on the American public mind. The two new inflows settled for the most part in South Florida where numerous voices were raised against their presence and its consequences for the local population. A study conducted jointly by Johns Hopkins University and two Miami-area universities sought to clarify the socio-economic origins of these new refugees and the principal features of their adaptation process after three years in the United States.

Statistically representative samples of Mariel refugees and Haitian boat people were interviewed in Dade County and two contiguous countries during late 1983 and early 1984. Most respondents had lived in the United States for approximately three years at the time of the survey. In this report we present selected characteristics of both samples and compare them with those of earlier Cuban and Haitian arrivals. The study was supported by a grant of the National Science Foundation to Johns Hopkins University. In Miami, the project was based at the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies of Florida International University. Miami-Dade Community College also provided personnel and logistical support.

Methodology and Comparative Findings

Table 1 presents the distribution of both samples by locality and sex of respondents. The project drew on statistically representative samples from the areas of principal Cuban and Haitian concentrations in South Florida. The Cuban survey

encompassed the cities of Miami, Miami Beach, Hialeah, and unincorporated Dade County. The Haitian survey comprised the "Little Haiti" sections of Miami and Ft. Lauderdale and the town of Belle Glade. Within each locality, areas of high refugee concentration were delimited and blocks within them were selected at random. Within selected blocks, all households containing at least one Mariel refugee or recent Haitian arrival fell into the sample. A total of 514 Cubans and 499 Haitians were interviewed. Results of the study are representative of the two refugee populations in South Florida; they also shed light on both their social origins and their early adaptation process.

As a point of reference, the tables below include comparable data from the 1980 Census as well as from an earlier study of Cuban refugees arriving in 1973 and re-interviewed in 1976, conducted by Portes and his associates.[1]

Who Are the Refugees from the Mariel and Haitian Boatlifts?

Table 2 presents several background characteristics of both samples. On the average, Mariel refugees are much older than Haitian boat arrivals, but within the Cuban population, the Mariel group is much younger. The median age of our Haitian respondents, 29 years, closely matches that reported by the Census for Haitians nation-wide. Close to half of both samples were single at arrival and, as with age, there was no significant difference between males and females. By contrast, only 17 percent of 1973 Cuban refugees were single at the time of arrival.

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[1] Results of this earlier research are summarized in Alejandro Portes and Robert L. Bach, Latin Journey, Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. Results pertaining to 1973 Cuban refugees are presented in Alejandro Portes, Juan M. Clark, and Manuel Lopez, "Six Years Later, a Profile of the Process of Incorporation of Cuban Exiles in the United States," Cuban Studies 11 (July 1981): 1-24.

Despite the widely publicized image of these immigrants as human "rift-raft" rejected by their own societies, results of the study indicate that they do not differ significantly from earlier refugees in important respects and that they have positive characteristics in comparison with the respective national populations. Mariel Cubans come overwhelmingly from urban origins, primarily the city of Havana; they even display a slight advantage with respect to past urban experience relative to earlier Cuban refugees. Haitians are nowhere near in terms of past urban living, but the proportion who resided in cities over 50,000, primarily Port-au-Prince, is significantly higher than in the source Haitian population as a whole.

A similar pattern is found for education. The average education of Mariel refugees in our sample is 9.1 years and the proportions having completed high school is 25 percent; both figures compare favorably with those for Cubans arriving during the early seventies. Haitian refugees come from more modest educational backgrounds. Their average education and proportion of high school graduates are much lower than among the pre-1980 Haitian population of the United States. Even then, however, the 5 average years of education in our sample represent a considerable gain over the Haitian population as a whole, 75 percent of which is illiterate.

In addition, both groups of refugees have acquired considerable education in the United States, particularly in English. Between 1980 and 1983, Mariel Cubans attended an average of five months of formal courses, a figure higher than among 1973 arrivals after a similar period of U.S. residence. Haitian refugees received even more formal education, doubling the 1973 Cuban average.

Results reported in table 2 concerning knowledge of English are based on an objective test and not on subjective self-reports. Mariel Cubans performed more poorly in this test than either 1973 Cuban refugees or Haitians. Fifty-seven percent of our 1980 Cuban respondents spoke no English after three years in the United States, a

figure 13 points higher than among the other two groups. On the other hand, however, roughly 20 percent of both 1980 Cuban and Haitian refugees spoke English at least passably after three years of residence, a figure similar to that among earlier Cuban arrivals. Finally, 14 percent of Mariel refugees had professional and managerial occupations in Cuba and an additional 24 percent were skilled blue-collar workers. The figures are actually more favorable than among their 1973 predecessors. Among Haitians, the combined total of individuals with professional and skilled backgrounds reaches 31 percent, a figure which again indicates much positive selectivity relative to the source Haitian population.

In summary, the point of these findings is that the "human capital" brought aboard the Mariel and Haitian flotillas was neither insignificant nor inferior to that among earlier refugee cohorts. In terms of education, work experience, and motivation to acquire additional education, Mariel Cubans are quite comparable to earlier refugee arrivals. Haitians come from more modest origins which are, however, considerably above average for their country of origin; they have also demonstrated greater willingness to acquire U.S. education than Cubans and are generally more proficient in English.

What are the Key Problems Facing the 1980 Refugees?

Although the individual characteristics of the Cubans and Haitians arriving in 1980 do not indicate massive disadvantages, the Hopkins study indicates that their problems of adaptation have been far more dramatic. Table 3 presents the relevant information. The number of Mariel Cubans unemployed and looking for work at the time of the survey represents 27 percent of the sample, a figure thrice as large as among the U.S. Cuban population in 1979 and at least twice as large as among Cuban refugees arriving

in the seventies. The corresponding figure among Haitians is 59 percent, decreasing among males to 39 percent. These percentages are more than three times the corresponding unemployment rates among the pre-1980 Haitian populations.

These overwhelming unemployment levels are not, however, the whole story. Among those gainfully employed, median earnings in 1979 constant dollars were slightly over $500 per month for Cubans and $400 for Haitians. For comparison, Cuban refugees arriving during the early seventies earned the equivalent of (1979) $765 on the average after three years in the country. Median household incomes among Mariel Cubans at the time of the survey was $786 in 1979 dollars, a figure $83 lower than among the 1973 refugees and almost $500 less than for the U.S. Cuban population as a whole.

Haitian households in our survey received a median of $461 in 1979 dollars, less than half that reported by the Census for the Haitian population nationwide. These abysmal income levels are reflected in the poverty status of our samples. Twenty-six percent of Mariel Cuban households and fully 61 percent of Haitian boat people lived in poverty after three years in the United States. By comparison only 8 percent of 1973 Cuban refugee households experienced poverty and the Census figure for both pre-1980 immigrant populations hovered around 20 percent.

Recent Cuban and Haitian refugees are thus severely disadvantaged economically not only in comparison with the American population as a whole, but also relative to their own communities. At the same time, however, Mariel Cubans seem to fare consistently better than Haitian boatpeople within an otherwise dismal situation. This trend is confirmed by the bottom figures of Table 3. Haitians are not only unemployed more frequently, but they stay unemployed longer than Cubans. Among 1980 refugees who have found employment, the occupational status differences are considerable. Thirteen percent of Mariel Cubans in this situation are self-employed, a figure which is

actually higher than among 1973 arrivals; among Haitians, only one respondent was found to own his own business. Approximately 10 percent of employed Mariel refugees have attained professional or managerial positions which compares favorably with the 1973 cohort; the corresponding figure among Haitian refugees is one percent. Employed Haitians concentrate overwhelmingly in domestic service, farm labor, and unskilled blue-collar occupations.

What Accounts for the Differences?

The dismal economic situation portrayed by the above results is subjectively perceived: Thirty-one percent of Cubans and fully 52 percent of Haitians declared that economic difficulties were the principal problem that they had confronted since arrival. This response was more frequent than language barriers, family separation, cultural adaptation, or any other. These results suggest a two-fold question: First, what accounts for the singularly unsuccessful performance of these groups in the South Florida economy, despite the "human capital" and motivations brought from their home countries? Second, what accounts for the consistent differences observed between Cubans and Haitians with regard to both employment and income?

Concerning the first question, Mariel Cubans in particular were not at a significant disadvantage in terms of education or other skills with respect to earlier Cuban refugee cohorts. Three things were different, however: 1) the 1980 arrivals were refused political asylum in the United States, being assigned instead a temporary status as "entrants, status pending." They thus became ineligible for assistance under the 1980 Refugee Act or earlier programs; subsequent aid, including job-training and employment assistance, was either late or more limited than that available to earlier refugees. 2) Many Mariel Cubans lacked kin and friends living in the United States

which could provide assistance during the early resettlement period. Absence of such networks also made it harder to find suitable employment, particularly in Cuban-owned enterprises. 3) The negative image which the estimated 5 percent of mental health patients and social deviants aboard the Mariel flotilla gave to the entire exodus generated an unfavorable reception within the Cuban community itself.

Evidence of the last two points is presented in Table 4. Mariel entrants had an average of only 3 relatives awaiting them in the United States, as opposed to 10 for Cubans arriving in the early seventies. The amount of help received from these kin networks was also reported to be considerably lower in 1980 than what it had been in 1973. Discrimination by Anglos is not perceived as a problem among Mariel Cubans. Only 2 percent of our respondents reported frequent experiences of discrimination by white Americans. This result stands in stark contrast with the 75 percent of the sample who indicated that "older" (pre-1980) Cubans discriminated against them and the 21 percent who reported frequent experiences of anti-Mariel discrimination in the Cuban community. This negative treatment by their own co-nationals appears strongly correlated with the difficulties encountered by Mariel refugees to find work and with generally low earnings of those employed.

Yet, despite these massive disadvantages, 1980 Cuban refugees fared significantly better than their Haitian counterparts. Part of the reason is the lower educational levels of the latter, although English skills are actually more extensive among Haitians than Cubans. A second factor is the great feebleness of social networks among Haitian refugees. The <u>average</u> number of kin awaiting them on arrival was 1.5, which means that many had no one. No matter how much support the few existing relatives or friends were willing to provide, it would not have gone far given their number and their own frequently difficult situation.

A final reason for the gap has to do with the presence of a fairly well-developed Cuban enclave economy in Miami. Mariel refugees with the necessary networks and contacts could find suitable employment in Cuban-owned enterprises. Knowledge of English is less necessary for such jobs, while Cuban-acquired education counts for more within the enclave than in the "outside" labor market. Thus, immigrant economic advancement in South Florida is not only a matter of having extensive family networks and obtaining their support, but of what kind of help this support can yield. Immigrants who come into a setting where a significant segment of the local economy is in the hands of their co-nationals can put their work skills and social contacts to greater advantage than those who must fend for themselves in the open labor market.

Evidence of this process is presented in the bottom rows of Table 4. Forty-two percent of employed Mariel refugees worked in 1983 in firms owned by other Cubans. Added to the self-employed, this figure means that over half (55%) of employed 1980 arrivals had been absorbed in the Cuban enclave economy after three years. In contrast, only 1 percent of the Haitian refugees worked for a co-national. Their employers were instead Anglos, Blacks, and Latins.

Contrary to common belief, employment in the immigrant enclave economy is not necessarily more exploitative than outside of it. As seen in Table 4, Mariel refugees working in Cuban-owned firms earned about the same on the average as those employed in Anglo-owned enterprises or others.

What Can be Done?

Widespread unemployment and poverty among these refugee groups indicate that their adaptation process has been most problematic. Clearly, the principal responsibility for this situation lies not with their own abilities and motivations, but with the social

context that received them. These have been unwelcome immigrants, wanted apparently by no one and even lacking at times a friend or relative to ease the first steps of adaptation. Should this situation continue indefinitely, it could easily result in the rise of another group of "unmeltable ethnics" and their mass entry into criminal or underground activities. Although there is little evidence of crime in our samples, we have estimated that approximately one-third of employed Cubans and Haitians worked in 1983 for "informal" enterprises in garment, construction, commerce, and the like which violated tax, minimum wage, and labor standards laws.

The outside help necessary to prevent the present situation to continue must come from three sources: First, Federal, State, and local governments must intensify programs of job and language training, as well as accelerate employment creation. Credit for small-scale immigrant enterprises is a particularly urgent priority. Second, it is necessary to bring about a shift of attitude in the society at large. Whatever the origins of these migrations, their participants are in the United States to stay. Rejecting and victimizing them, as has been the case particularly with Haitians, can only turn their image as "undesirables" into a self-fulfilling prophecy. Third, the pre-1980 refugee communities and, in particular, the Cuban bear primary responsibility for accelerating this change of attitude. The bitter complaints of many Mariel respondents about their treatment by older Cubans reflect efforts on the part of the latter to create "social distance" from the newcomers. This attitude will lead nowhere. The established exile community must understand that, in the United States, all Cuban immigrants -- new and old -- partake of a common identity and fate. Accelerating the adaptation of Mariel refugees through access to employment and social acceptance is the best way to improve the image of Cubans held by the society at large and to increase chances for the minority's collective advancement.

Table 1

Distributions of 1983-84 Cuban and Haitian Samples

by Area and Sex*

		Miami Beach %	Hialeah %	Unincorporated Dade %	Miami %	Ft. Lauderdale %	Belle Glade %	Totals %
Cubans	Females	29.7	42.3	43.6	33.8			35.6 (183)
	Males	70.3	57.7	64.4	66.2			64.4 (331)
	Totals	12.5 (64)	18.9 (97)	7.6 (39)	61.1 (314)			100.0 (514)
Haitians	Females				66.0	53.7	44.2	59.1 (295)
	Males				34.0	46.3	55.8	40.9 (204)
	Totals				60.1 (300)	19.0 (95)	20.8 (104)	100.0 (499)

*Actual numbers in parentheses.

Table 2

Background Characteristics

Variable	Categories	Marial Refugees: 1983-84[a]	1973-74 Cuban Refugees[b]	1979 U.S. Cuban Population[c]	Haitian Refugees: 1983-84[a]	1979 U.S. Haitian Population[c]
Age[d]	Median	34.0	40.2	40.3	29	28.9
Marital Status	% Single	42.6	17.1	——	49.8	——
Place of Last Residence before Emigration	% Living in Cities over 50,000	83.9	79.2	——	34.3	——
Education in Cuba/Haiti	Years Completed	9.1	8.6	——	4.6	——
	% High School Graduates	25.4	22.0	40.2	4.9	55.9
Education in U.S.	Average Months Completed	4.6	3.0	——	7.0	——
	% English Courses Only	55.0	24.6	——	86.3	——
Knowledge of English	% None	57.4	44.8	——	44.0	——
	% Some	20.0	31.5	——	36.8	——
	% Moderate/ Fluent	22.6	23.7	——	19.8	——
Occupation in Cuba/Haiti	% Professional/ & Managerial	14.0	10.0	——	5.2	——
	% Skilled Blue Collar	23.7	22.2	——	26.0	——
	% Clerical and Services	11.5	44.0	——	16.8	——

a. Source: Authors' research.

b. Source: A. Portes and R.L. Bach, Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. Chs. 3-5.

c. Foreign-born arrived between 1970 and 1980. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census: Detailed Population Characteristics, United States Summary, Washington, D.C., March 1984, Table 255.

d. The 1973-74 and 1983-84 samples were limited, by definition to adults aged 18 to 65. The Census figures include the entire population; exclusion of the under-18 and over-65 categories does not alter them significantly.

Table 3

Employment, Income and Poverty

Variable	Categories	Marial Returnees, 1983-84[a]	1973-74 Cuban Returnees[b]	1979 U.S. Cuban Population[c]	Haitian Returnees, 1983-84[a]	1979 U.S. Haitian Population[c]
Employment	% Unemployed-Total	26.0	14.0[d]	8.4	58.5	13.3
	% Unemployed-Males	25.8	14.0	6.8	30.8	12.3
Income-Individuals	Median 1979 Dollars per month[e]	523	765	----	419	----
Income-Households	Median 1979 Dollars per month	786	869	1263	461	1184
Poverty	% of Households below Poverty Level[f]	26.0	7.7	20.5	61.0	25.6
Unemployment	Average Months Unemployed during Past Three Years	11.2	1.1	----	17.8	----
Occupation	% Self-employed[e]	13.2	8.0	----	0.1	----
	% Professional & Managerial Specialty Occupations	10.0	8.9	10.7	1.1	7.5

a. Source: Authors' research.

b. Source: A. Portes, J.M. Clark, and M.M. Lopez, "Six Years Later, a Profile of the Process of Incorporation of Cuban Exiles in the United States," Cuban Studies 11 (July 1981): 1-24.

c. Foreign-born arrived between 1970 and 1980. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Detailed Population Characteristics, United States Summary, Washington, D.C., March 1984, Table 255.

d. Includes all those out of the labor market and is thus an overestimate of the unemployment rate (involuntary) in this sample.

e. Employed individuals only.

f. For a household of three in the respective years: 1976, 1979, and 1983.

Table 4

Social Networks, Perceptions of Discrimination,

and Participation in the Ethnic Economy

Variable	Category	Racial Refugees 1983-84[a]	1973-74 Cuban Refugees[b]	Haitian Refugees 1983-84[a]
Number of Relatives at Arrival	Mean	3.1	10.2	1.5
Help Received from Relatives	% Great Deal/ Fair Amount	61.0	75.6	77.3
	% Little or None	39.0	24.4	22.7
Has Suffered Discrimination by Anglos	% Frequently	2.4	0.9	5.8[c]
	% Occasionally	20.2	39.5	14.2
	% Never	77.4	59.6	80.0
Older Cubans Discriminate Against 1980 Refugees	% Yes	74.6	—	—
Has Suffered Discrimination by Older Cubans	% Frequently	21.0	—	—
	% Occasionally	30.7	—	—
	% Never	48.3	—	—
Ethnicity of Employers	% Self	13.2	8.0	0.1
	% Cuban	42.0	31.2	10.0[d]
	% Anglo/Other White	44.8	60.8	68.0
	% Black	0.0	0.0	20.8
	% Haitian	0.0	0.0	1.1
Median Monthly Earnings by Ethnicity of Employers (1983 Dollars)	Cuban Firms	801	—	—
	Anglo Firms	799	—	—
	Others	807	—	—

a. Source: Authors' research.

b. Source: A. Portes, J.M. Clark, and M.M. Lowe, "Six Years Later, a Profile of the Process of Incorporation of Cuban Exiles in the United States," Cuban Studies 11 (July 1981): 1-24.

c. In the Haitian survey, the question referred to discrimination by Black Americans.

d. Includes other Latin employers.

Mr. GARCIA. Thank you very much, Professor.

I would yield now to my colleague from Indiana. I asked a number of questions before. Are there any questions that you would like to ask?

Mr. MYERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you for your testimony, the gentlemen here.

I am a new member of this subcommttee, in fact, of the full committee. Is an undocumented alien the same as an illegal alien or are they always the same, or are there some that might fall within undocumented that aren't illegal aliens?

Mr. NAHAN. For purposes of our agency, the way we would use them if identical. Part of the confusion is that in a previous administration, some preferred the use of the term undocumented alien to that of illegal alien. Some of what we call illegal aliens may in fact never have had documents in the first place. They are the ones that you hear about who typically sneak across the border—they are called entrants without inspection. Another kind of illegal alien comes in with a legal visa and then overstays or somehow violates the terms of the visa. So in that sense, the person was documented as versus the other care.

Because of the way the term undocumented alien started to be used, it became almost synonymous with illegal alien.

Mr. MYERS. If a person comes as a visitor with a visa and then stays over and starts working, that is illegal, isn't it?

Mr. NAHAN. That is illegal. In fact, they may still have each within the terms of the visa, in terms of the time allowed, but the minute they began to go to work, yes, they would have become illegal.

Mr. MYERS. A student and so forth?

Mr. NAHAN. I believe that after a student is here for 1 year they are able to participate in a part-time work schedule. We allow them up to 20 hours a week.

Mr. MYERS. Associated with their education, I remember——

Mr. NAHAN. It is presumably on the basis that they need to do this to help pay for their education, yes. But, again, the distinction would be, if that student worked 40 hours versus 20, they would be illegal as well.

Mr. MYERS. It seems that it would be easy, relatively easy, to keep statistics on immigration, legal immigration, or migration, to keep those, our records. But in the method used, how do you find these illegal or undocumented aliens? If you could find them, I guess you would deport them. I can sympathize with your criticism here with the lack of data to operate from, inaccurate, but how could you do it? Have you come up with any suggestions how you can count people that you can't find?

Mr. NAHAN. I think I will defer to my colleagues in the academic community.

Mr. LEVINE. I will start with one end of that. One is that if you can find somebody, yes. You recall that the testimony given by Dr. Passel indicated that through various demographic techniques, by knowing the number of people who report themselves as legal or as citizens and using other data, you can make estimates of various classes, even though you can't identify A or B.

I do want to emphasize one thing from the perspective of the National Academy study, though. We weren't dealing solely with the problem of just counting or providing statistics on illegals. We were talking about a total data base, including legals, visitors, people who come, people who go, people who move, refugees—the whole aspect of the immigration system. Many of these people are not hidden from the system, they are in the system. We feel that the problem there is quite different; rather, that the data that are collected are very poor quality, are very late in being produced even if they are of poor quality, are not complete in themselves, and are not kept up to date.

Now, as has been pointed out by Mr. Nahan, the agency is making dramatic strides to try to improve its data system, but it has to go to the fundamental point. It has to insist that its staff who interact with all aliens coming into the country collect the right type of data, and make sure that the data get into the system correctly; otherwise, a good system will still produce bad data. When you get to illegals, that's a different issue, Mr. Myers.

Mr. PASSEL. Let me say something, if I may.

Mr. MYERS. Sure.

Mr. PASSEL. There are two ways that we have been able to get information on illegal aliens. One is that there are indications that they will cooperate with various types of surveys and censuses. As I mentioned, we have very strong evidence that over 2 million undocumented aliens cooperated with the 1980 Census. We have indications that they also will participate in our Current Population Surveys. These are surveys conducted by the U.S. Government. There are many examples of small-scale studies conducted by private concerns, and academicians who have interviewed, in-depth, undocumented aliens.

So there is the possibility of collecting data on this group in the country. The government surveys, the Census and the CPS, have not attempted to identify individuals as being legal or illegal. Some of the private surveys have.

The other side of it is that we have used some data from foreign countries. We have used the census of Mexico and drawn some inferences about how many people appear to be missing from the Mexican census that we cannot account for in the United States.

So there's a body of data available in this country. There's also some data available from other countries that we can use to address the question.

Unfortunately, there are a lot of assumptions that go into these estimates. The assumptions accounts for some of the range and the fact that we can't zero in precisely on a single number. But we have been able to narrow the range to some extent.

Mr. MYERS. I share the concern of our chairman when you talk about estimates or guesstimates, particularly, if I may be provincial here for a moment—from Indiana, we lost a congressional seat 3 years ago over estimates. One State gets the value of empty buildings and empty residences that no one could account for and, consequently, by a very fraction of a hundredth of a percent, we lost one congressional seat. And it was all done on estimates and guesstimates.

So I am concerned that if we are going to do that, why do we spend all the money on study? We can't sit here and guess. You don't have to spend all that money on a study.

Incidentally, speaking about studies, and I will close with this, I have some other questions I will present for the record.

I first came to Congress 20 years ago, and one of the first things that shocked me is the number of studies we in Congress are responsible for that never anything is done about. Back when I was in the real world I was in business. I can't say we didn't have studies, but at least we decided the purpose of the study and results of the study would be used for some purpose. Now, so far I can't identify the studies—and you certainly haven't lacked for a number of studies in this area—but, what has ever been done with them? How have we ever benefited from them? What have we done from the results of those studies so far? From your evidence I have seen this morning, little, if any, has been done.

If I had spent the money and time on studies that we in Congress do, I would have been in Congress a lot sooner than I was, because I would have been out of business.

What is the purpose of the study if we are not going to do anything about it? Mr. Levine, I guess your statement is somewhat along this line—I am not critical of studies if we are going to use them. But, have we used them?

Mr. LEVINE. I think there are many different kinds of studies, Mr. Congressman. For example, many of the studies conducted by the government produce data which have wide applicability to business and to local communities, and to the Congress. It is very interesting when you go around the country as I had the pleasure of doing some years ago and talk to users of census data, and you find not surprisingly, quite a number of them.

Studies of the sort Dr. Passel has talked about, I think, are of inestimable value to the Congress, because as has been mentioned today by the Chair and by others, there are some rather extreme numbers floating around in the media and here in the Halls of Congress as to whether there are 2 million illegal aliens or 12 million illegal aliens.

And studies such as Dr. Passel's and those done by the Census Bureau, and others, and the studies done and reported on by Dr. Portes, provide insight, however limited, which should assist in narrowing the scope of the uncertainty. When one can't measure something exactly, one is forced to make an estimate. But certainly if the studies are iterated, and explored, and made available to experts who can comment on them, at least you have the benefit of the most reasoned guess. And I would hope that that would help you in considering legislation such as you have before you right now in the Rodino bill, such as you have in the bill that passed the Senate and is brought before you.

I can't exactly tell you at this moment the extent to which the study that we have presented will be fully appreciated and used by INS. I would hope, and I expect, that the people at INS will look carefully at it. And to the extent that they can, will make improvements in their data base. I would hope that Members of Congress will accept their responsibility, having the power of the purse, to insist that INS improve its performance.

I would hope that other areas within the Federal Government that have responsibility will do so.

But one can only put the light on—one can't insist that someone open his eyes, or her eyes, to do what has to be done. I don't know how else to answer you.

Mr. MYERS. I didn't mean to leave the impression that studies are not valuable or are not needed. Certainly, the Bureau of the Census—some of the information they provide for us is very essential to industry and to our Nation. But particularly to undocumented aliens, I wonder what we are doing with it. What would be the course of action change if we find that there are 7 million undocumented aliens versus 2 million? What would be the difference? If we've got 2 million, we have a problem. If you have 7 million you have a more severe problem. The course of action, I would think, by Congress, would be the same.

Mr. LEVINE. I don't think it would be the same, and I don't think the reaction of the Members of the House or Senate would be the same. If you can get agreement that there are 2 million, then the argument as to the number who will come in and utilize social services or the amount of money which you have to appropriate for assistance to the States to help these people, assimilate themselves, is quite different. Your problems about amnesty are quite different when you are talking about 2 million, and 7 million, in terms of public perception and public fear. The extent of replacement of Americans, native borns or citizens, by illegals is quite different if there are 2 million as opposed to 7 million, or, as some people say, 12 million.

It seems to me that the ability of the INS to function in various areas is quite different, too, if the perception is that they are indeed doing their job, and catching people, and patrolling our borders, and they only have to deal with a 2 million workload as opposed to a 7 or 12 million—it seems to me those are big magnitudes of difference, Mr. Myers.

Mr. MYERS. They certainly are, but I think the problem, as far as we are concerned, we should be just as concerned about 2 million undocumented aliens as we are 7 or 12.

Mr. LEVINE. I think the degree of concern is different.

Mr. PORTES. I would agree with you, Mr. Myers, on the fact that numbers are important but not the whole story. It is a point that I think will have to be hammered because the debate of undocumented immigration gets lost with the idea of numbers. The fact is, that whether they are 2, 7 or 10, they represent an important part of American society at present, and have significant impact on at least regional labor markets in certain parts of the country.

There are stories about this, and it is possible to demonstrate that is the case. Let me mention two examples. In New York City, where the chairman of the committee comes from, there is increasing evidence of the proliferation of a sort of service industry made up of labor-intensive activities that cater to the well-to-do: Boutiques, restaurants, hand laundries, things that are in demand by the new upper classes of the city that are increasingly sophisticated. These activities that underlie the "glitter" that one finds in the lifestyle of the new upper classes in a city like New York are possible at present because there is a large labor force willing to work

for low wages at these activities, namely, undocumented immigrants.

There are stories of that kind and it is possible, if not to calculate their numbers, at least to calculate, to estimate what they are doing in the labor market and what is their importance.

My wife, who is a social anthropologist, is conducting now a study of employment in the garment and electronics industry in Orange County and San Diego County, especially of women. And she has, for several months, interviewed owners and workers in factories throughout that region. And one finds consistently that the bulk of labor in the small- and medium-size operations, especially those that subcontract to larger firms comes from Mexico and is undocumented. She is not able to count them but the fact is that after going through 50 factories and finding the same thing, we can show that this is an important process.

This is not to denounce the undocumented. I think that if someone has to be denounced here are the employers of the undocumented. But to say that even if we do not know the exact numbers, we know enough to say that it is an important process, at least in certain regions of the country.

Mr. MYERS. Well, seasonal workers are very important to the farmers of Indiana, also. I have often charged that many are illegal and it is a problem to identify who is and who is not, so it is not only New York. I know it's a very acute problem in New York City, but also in the rural areas of Indiana where we do have farm labor that comes in seasonally and helps harvest some crops.

I guess I would be more inclined to say that figures were important if you could say they were right. But estimates also make me wonder if they are worth it when we don't really know they are the right figures.

I have some other questions, Mr. Chairman, that I will put in the record.

Mr. NAHAN. Mr. Chairman, if I could just add something.

Mr. GARCIA. Sure.

Mr. NAHAN. It goes to your concern about the reapportionment and the State of Indiana losing a seat. It's interesting to note that in Mr. Passel's research that of the estimate that was derived from the 1980 census, some 80 percent of that number are in five States. And in fact, 50 percent is in one State—the State of California. I think the other four States are ones you could probably guess—the State of Illinois, a neighboring State; New York, Florida, and Texas.

So to associate myself with Dr. Portes' remarks, I think there clearly are some very major regional impacts as a result of illegal immigration and it has had some——

Mr. GARCIA. Let me ask a question, if I may. Who was the 434th and 435th State in that formula?

Mr. LEVINE. One seat went to Florida instead of going to——

Mr. MYERS. We lost a seat on a formula established in 1940 by the Congress.

Mr. LEVINE. Yes.

Mr. GARCIA. What was it? Does anybody have the answer to that here?

Mr. PASSEL. I can look it up.

Mr. GARCIA. Over here it says New York and California. I don't think that's true.

Mr. MYERS. No, you weren't affected on that.

It was a Western State—I am trying to think. Was it Montana?

Mr. GARCIA. Colorado, maybe.

Mr. MYERS. New Mexico picked up the third seat.

Now, it was a fraction of the whole—this shouldn't be on the record, I guess—but the percentage established in 1939 or 1940, the Congress established, gave the Census the responsibility—it's a fraction of the whole number. Now, Indiana, in my congressional district, it's 589,000 people. I think in New Mexico it's about 380,000. It's about 200,000 less. But since we had 11 Congressmen and the fraction against that 311 was smaller than the fraction against 2 that New Mexico had—New Mexico's growth was not as much as Indiana's, but it was the fraction of the whole that counted, which isn't really the way it ought to be done.

Mr. GARCIA. If my colleague would yield, I would like to say, that I am disturbed about this press release issued by FAIR—I don't know what makes them tick but, obviously, they have a method to their madness. Their press release is full of little inconsistencies and half truths. For instance, they say specifically that, "Instead, California and New York were granted extra congressional seats based on the large number of illegal aliens residing in those States."

That's why immediately I thought of who was the 434th and who was the 435th. It's a very complicated formula—picking congressional seats. New Mexico was one. I think Georgia or Florida were one of the others.

Mr. MYERS. If the gentleman will yield. We are getting down to fractions here when I talk about the States affected congressionally.

Mr. GARCIA. Yes.

Mr. MYERS. Now, if California, or Florida, or Texas, wherever it is, picked up seats because of a large number, they would have an impact on who was 434th and 435th. Even though they were not of these figures, they certainly would have an impact.

Mr. PASSEL. There's two different aspects being addressed here. One is the existing seats in the rounding in the formula, and the other is to the extent to which undocumented aliens were included.

Mr. GARCIA. I appreciate that but, I am well aware of the formula because, as Chair of this subcommittee during the 1980 census. I had every Member of Congress asking me how the census was going. I held hearings across the country—your Governor, the Governor of Indiana came, as did the entire congressional delegation—this committee held the hearings so that we could establish a record. I don't know if you remember that.

Mr. MYERS. Yes, I do.

Going back to this very briefly, with our problem in Indiana, we have a great many snowbirds. They go to Florida for maybe 3 or 4 months. Now, on April 15, they were back in Indiana. They were counted in Indiana, most of them. But their house in Florida they own is also counted. So, Indiana got credit as it should be, but Florida shouldn't have counted them. And Arizona got a few of them,

too—people live out there. But a great many Hoosiers live in Florida in the wintertime.

But an empty house down there—and you people admitted this—if there's an empty house down there and you couldn't get a count from it, you gave it—either side of the house, some kind of a formula you had, you gave it a certain value. So, Florida got counted—people didn't really live in Florida except they spent some of the wintertime down there. That's why I object to the system that you use.

Mr. GARCIA. I would like to offer a little constructive criticism. I like constructive criticism because, I don't like to take cheap shots.

The four of you folks here represent probably the most sophisticated group on this subject we have in this entire country, and we are still dealing in estimates.

Dan, you and I have dealt with each other since 1978, 1979, together. The INS is an antiquated system, and I see no growth there at all. They are involved today in issuing statements against illegal aliens—I mean, it's crazy. Instead of focusing on trying to modernize and put effectively their agency together—I am not particularly happy with what has developed there. But I am not an expert. I am just a politician who is running a subcommittee; I am really a layman. And you people are the experts.

In terms of the Bureau of the Census, I can tell you that, I brag about how great the Bureau of the Census is; it's the best demographic group in the entire world, yet we are still dealing with guesstimates.

Congress will soon be discussing the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, so there's a method to my madness. I am very concerned about the bill, particularly the employer sanctions portion. I am therefore, trying to get as much testimony on this issue, and this hearing is part of it. Yet, my colleagues on the floor will talk about the 14 million illegal aliens who have come to this country. Well, the fact of the matter is, based on what you believe to be true in the FAIR statement, 2.1 million is considerably less than that—it's 0.9 percent of the total population in the country. I mean, 0.9 percent is not 10 or 15 percent. We have absorbed 10 percent, 15 percent, at the turn of the century, with open arms. What's 0.9 percent?

The problem is, that we readily accept European refugees without hesitation. But now most of our refugees are coming from those areas of the world where the people are brown-skinned, or black-skinned, or yellow-skinned, so it's different.

Yet, we are not so different.

I preach to you because I don't often have an opportunity to tell you what's on my mind. The INS call me up, and ask if I am going to beat up on them. I am not going to beat up on the INS. You have got enough trouble.

[Laughter.]

Mr. GARCIA. I mean it. You have got enough trouble. God knows I have tried to call Commissioner Nelson. I am a Congressman—and he has not even returned my call. There's no excuse for that. I should really have him here to hear the criticism by the professor, the criticism by Mr. Levine. I should have him responding to that.

We have to work together. I won't beat up on you. It's not my style. It has never been my style.

Mr. MYERS. I thought just Republicans didn't get their calls returned.

[Laughter.]

Mr. GARCIA. I think that we can do so much more working together than we can fighting each other. There are going to be times we disagree. Listen, I love my wife more than I love life, but I disagree with her from time to time.

I say that to you because I don't want you to leave here thinking for one moment that I am not cognizant of the fact that I have my problems with INS, and I say that to you, John, very plainly and very specifically, and as sincerely as I can. You know that the calls that were made to my staff were unjustified, they were not necessary. It's not my style.

Is there anything you would like to add, Professor, or you, Doctor?

[No response]

Mr. GARCIA. I am going to submit questions to all of you. I would appreciate very much if you would be kind enough to try and get back to our staff with the response to those questions just as soon as possible. I would like to complete this record.

I have a hunch we are going to be going into the Immigration bill a lot sooner than people think. I would like to have some of these figures and statistics available so at least I can give the best available information at the time of debate. That's the bottom line.

Is there anything you would like to add, Professor?

Mr. PORTES. Only this, that in the debate that approaches on Simpson-Mazzoli—the perceptions that I often see here in Washington are quite different from those that are seen in other parts of the country, especially in those areas where undocumented immigration is a real visible presence.

In Orange County, which is one of the richest regions of the country, if you find somebody who is bending down doing gardening work or some other menial labor, you don't need that person to turn around to find out what he looks like—they are Mexican, you know that. That person is Mexican.

I do not believe that from what I have seen through California and New York that the process of entry of foreign labor in the country can be easily stopped. I do not believe that it can be legislated away. I do not believe that there is an alien invasion, as it is often portrayed of immigrants sort of coming over and overwhelming the resistance of the United States. The country is sufficiently powerful and technologically sophisticated to prevent it. That is, immigrants are coming because there is a need for them. And if there is a problem, it is a problem that is internal to the United States—with a vast array of American employers, your growers in Indiana, small employers, and so on, who believe that this is a preferable source of labor. That, I think, is going to continue.

Doing something about this flow just by trying to stop it, might have worse consequences, mainly, to drive the flow further underground with more exploitative consequences for the immigrants who come and for the minorities who compete with them in the labor market. Given the fact that this is a process that is settled and that is likely to continue, it might be better to bring it above board in some form or another than to simply proceed as FAIR or

other organizations are recommending to just close the border. That is not going to work and it would get us into more problems than what we have now.

Mr. GARCIA. Just one last question. The Professor did make a point before about your agency being selective in terms of the data that they issue. What were you talking about?

Mr. PORTES. That's really a minor point. I have not received, to my knowledge, or people have not received advertisements that certain data are available. On the other hand, some of my colleagues whom I greatly respect, have apparently received access to that data—I would prefer not to mention names if it isn't necessary. Just like the Census makes available its tapes, I think that if INS is going to release data to some researchers, it should make them available to others.

Mr. GARCIA. With that, I would like to thank the four of you.

[Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the subcommittee adjourned.]

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